1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7



249 The maguey plant, or agave, was important to household economy for its sap, which was fermented to make a kind of [273] beer. Not only was this pulque used both as a tipple and a ceremonial intoxicant, but it had an important nutritive effect as well in counterbalancing the lack of greens in the [283] Mexican diet. The plant itself had many other uses. Its fibers could be twisted into twine or rope and woven into containers or even clothing. The thorns were excellent needles [412] and had a more lugubrious use as instruments for mortifying the flesh in religious penances. The leaves as a whole some[342] times were employed in constructing shelters or roofing huts. Small wonder that the maguey and the corn plants were symbolized as goddesses and worshiped accordingly.

[248] The Aztecs cultivated cotton in many varieties. Tobacco [276] they smoked for the most part in hollow reeds as a sort of 249 cigarette. Late in their history they also used elbow-shaped [314] pipes, probably for some ceremonial purpose, much as our modern Pueblos restrict pipe smoking to rain-inducing rituals. They consumed quantities of copal gum as incense during religious ceremonies and obtained rubber from Vera Cruz and the south, as well as from the dwarf guayule plant found in northern Mexico. The Aztecs, like us, found this [526] material indispensable to their culture, for balls in their ceremonial game, *tlachtli*, and as a gum to fix feathers and other adornments to costumes. Bitumen, which came from the oil [317] seepages in Vera Cruz, had its function as an adhesive and as a body paint. In western Mexico the Indians prepared a [237] serviceable lacquer which they used to coat gourds and wooden trays. This incomplete list of plants and substances cultivated and exploited by the Aztecs and their neighbors gives an idea of our deep indebtedness to these past civiliza-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7



tions. The original inventors and innovators are lost in the black obscurity of American history, but the fruit of their ingenuity plays an important part in our modern economy.

As opposed to this wealth of plants, the Aztecs were poor in domesticated animals. They had several varieties of dog, one of which was bred for food, but they never used this animal for transport as did Indians of our Northern plains. The turkey was their chief domesticated fowl, although there is some evidence that they bred geese, ducks and quail also. In plantations of the nopal cactus they carefully tended the cochineal bug for the rich crimson dye it yielded when crushed. A second insect, the maguey slug, still retains its place as a delicacy of the Mexican table, served with another typically Aztec dish, *guacamole*,* a thick mixture of tomato, alligator pear and chile.

Hunting, when possible, produced food, but as early as Upper Middle Culture times the deer were nearly all killed off. The seasonal migrations of the birds, which still visit the lakes of Mexico, offered a profusion of geese, ducks and other wild fowl. Small fish, netted or speared with a trident, were sometimes consumed, and the eggs which a certain fly lays on the lakes were made into a paste still eaten in Mexican communities. The high functionaries, since they were supported by the community, kept a much better table than the poor, who lived meagerly off the produce of their own fields; the daily repast of Montezuma was described by the Spanish conquerors as the height of Lucullan luxury.[18]

Tools showed relatively little variation from Middle Culture to Aztec times. The *coa*, or digging stick, was the chief farming instrument, and the *metate* and *mano* even now re-

*Wah-ca-mo'-lay.

And they took [the children] to many [different] places.

[First was] Quauhtepec.[4] And the one who died here bore the same name—Quauhtepetl. His paper vestments were brown.[5]

The second place where one died was the top of Mount Yoaltecatl.[6] The human banner [the child to be sacrificed] had the same name—Yoaltecatl. His paper vestment was black striped with red.

The third place was Tepetzinco,[7] where died a girl called Quetzalxoch, a name which they took from Tepetzintli, [also] named Quetzalxoch. Her array was blue.

The fourth place was Poyauhtlan,[10] just at the foot and in front of Mount Tepetzinco. The name of him who died was Poyauhtecatl. Thus he went adorned: he was bedight in rubber, stripes of liquid rubber.

The fifth place, there in the midst of the lake, was a place named Pantitlan. He who died there had the name Epcoatl. The vestments in which he went, having put them on, were set with mussel shells.

The sixth place to which they carried [a victim] was the top of [the hill of] Cocotl,[11] and also he went bearing the name Cocotl. His array was varicolored —part red, part brown.

The seventh place was on the summit of Yiauhqueme, and also the human banner bore the name Yiauhqueme. The clothing which he bore was completely brown.

These were the places where [the children] died, as blood-offerings, as human banners.

And all went with head-bands[12] with sprays and sprigs of quetzal feathers; they had green stone necklaces, and they went provided with green stone bracelets; they provided them with bracelets of green stone. Their faces were painted with liquid rubber, and spotted with a paste of amaranth seeds. And their liquid rubber sandals: they had sandals of liquid rubber. All went in glorious array; they were adorned and ornamented; all had valuable things on them. They gave them paper wings;[13] wings of paper they had. They were carried in litters covered with quetzal

Auh mjeccan in qujmoncaoaia,

quauhtepec: auh yn vmpa onmiquja, çan ie no ie ytoca etiujia, in quauhtepetl: yn jamatlatquj, yiapaltic.

Jnic vccā miquja, icpac in tepetl ioaltecatl: çan ie no itoca ietiuh, intlacateteujtl, ioaltecatl: yn jamatlatquj, tliltic, chichiltic ic oaoanquj.

Jnjc excan, tepetzinco: yn vmpa onmjquja cioatl, itoca quetzalxoch, ytech canaia, in tepetzintli, qujtocaiotiaia quetzalxoch, yn itlatquj catca texotic.

Jnic naubcan, poiauhtlā, çan itzintla, çan ixpan in tepetl, tepetzinco: itoca ietiujia in miquja poiauhtecatl, ynic muchichiuhtiuja, vlpiioac, tlaulujtectli.

Jnic macujlcan, vmpa in atl itic itocaiocan pantitlan, in vmpa, onmjquja, itoca ietiuh, epcoatl: yn itlatquj, in caqujtiuja, epoepanjuhquj.

Jnic chiquaceccan: vmpa qujujcaia cocotl icpac, no itoca ietiuja cocotl: yn inechichioal catca, chictlapanquj, cectlapal chichiltic, cectlapal yiappalli.

Jnic chicoccan, icpac yn jiauhqueme: çan no itoca ietiuh, yiauhqueme, in tlacateteujtl: yn jtlatquj ietiuh, tlacemaqujlli, yn jiappalli.

Jzqujcan yn, in miquja nextlaoalti, tlacateteuhti:

auh muchinti, ynmaxtlatzon ietiuh, quetzalxixilquj, quetzalmjiaoaio: in chalchiuhcozquj ietiuh, yoan momacuextitiuj, qujmomacuextitiuj chalchiujtl: tlaixolujlti, qujmixolhujaia, mjxmichioaujque, yoan ymolcac, ymolcac ietiuh, muchintin mauizçotiuj, tlacencaoalti, tlachichioalti, muchi tlaçotlanquj, yn jntech ietiuh, tlaçotlantiuj, qujmamatlapaltia, amatl,

feathers; and in these [the children][13] were kept.

4. Maps of the Valley of Mexico in Colonial times locate most of the places and features mentioned by Sahagún, but the frequent repetition of place-names is an issue confronting. Of Quauhtepec, Sahagún's Spanish text says: "*es esta sierra cerquenas que esta cerca del Tlatelulco.*"

5. Tlapalli, Sahagún (Spanish text) has *encarnado* (deep red, flesh colored); later he has *bermejo* (lion colored, tawny) for yiapalli. For papalotl, Siler (*op. cit.*, p. 36) has *grisáceo*; Molina (*op. cit.*), *cosa teñida de negro*; Simeon (*op. cit.*), brown or black.

6. The Spanish text explains: "*es esta sierra cerquenas que esta cabe guadalupe.*"

7. *Loc. cit.*: "*es aquel montecillo, que esta delante desta laguna, frontero del Tlatelulco.*"

10. *Loc. cit.*: "*es un estanco, que esta en las cerquenas de Tlatelulco, y alli cabe aquestotras.*"

11. *Loc. cit.*: "*es un montec que esta cabe dicho estanco.*"

12. Siler (*op. cit.*, p. 37) reads *penachos*-plumes, which he translates as *blue cigarrillo-like Feiers*.

13. Sahagún (*loc. cit.*) says "*pusiquelos unas alas de papel unas angelas.*"

And four times they appeared before the people. They were looked at; they were made to be seen by the people; they were made known. They gave them and provided them their paper vestments.

The first time they were given, and ornamented with, red; they were [dressed] in red; their paper garments were red.

The second time their paper ornamentation was white.

The third time they again bore their red vestments.

The fourth time, white.

This last time, they ornamented them and gave them presents; for this last time, they wore [this array]—so that in it their fate would come, they would be slain, they would breathe their last, they would be the [sacrificial] striped ones. For this last time, they took their red array.

No more did they change [their garments]. And they ornamented them as the striped ones with liquid rubber.

And those who had captured prisoners, who had captives whom they had taken, also anointed themselves with red; they covered themselves with feather down; their hands and feet were covered with white turkey feathers.

And also they were given costly insignia; [but] not given [to keep] always—only that they should smoke with them; that they should dance the captives' dance with them.

Only thus they appeared and were seen; only thus men marveled at them; only thus [garbed] they celebrated the feast; only thus did one make known to men that his captive was to be offered as a sacrifice.

And he bore his shield, which went resting on his arm, and he carried his rattle stick, which he went rattling, and he proceeded planting his rattle stick on the ground, and it rattled and jingled.

And all those who had captives, those who had taken prisoners, were thus garbed—they whose captives would be offered as sacrifices when the Feast-day Tlacaxipeualiztli came.

Auh nappa teixpan neci, teixpan qujztilo, teiximitilo, teixímachtilo, quintlamamaca, quinmamaca yn jmmanechichioal:

ynjc ceppa maco, ynjc chichioalo, tlauhio, tlauhiotiuj, tlatlactic, tlauhio yn jmamatlatquj.

Jnic vppa ixtac, yn jmmanechichioal.

Jnic expa, oc cepa ichoatl yn intlatquj ietiuh, tlauhio.

Jnic nappa, ixtac,

iccen quinchichioaia, iccen quinmacaia, iccen quitquj, ynjc ipan intequiuh vetziz, ynic quintlatlatizque, ynjo ihjiotl quiçaz, ynic oooanoxque ça iccen qujcuj, yn intlatquj, tlauhio:

aocmo quipatla, aocmo quipapatla: yoan vltica quinoahoanchichioa.

Auh in tlamanj, in temanj, in male, in texcinj, no motlauhoça, mopotonja, motzomaia yn jma, yn icxi ixtac totoliujtica.

Auh no macoia, tlaçotlanquj tlauiztli, amo iccen macoia, çan ipã tlatotonjaia, çan ipan momalitoiaia:

çan ic neci, çan ic itto, çan ic tetlamauiçoltia, çan ic ipan ilhujtla, çan ic tetlatitia, ynjc oooano ymal:

yoan ychimal ietiuh, ymac mantiuh, ic momamantiuh: yoan ichicaoaz ietiuh, chicaoçoçotiuh, quitilquextiuh in chicaoztli, chachalaca, cacalaca.

Auh muchinti, iuh muchichioaia, yn izquichtin, maleque, in tlamanjme: yn jnmalhoan oahoanoxque, yn iquac oncic ilhujtl tlacaxipeoaliztli.

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...search and University of Utah, 1950; Monographs of the School of American Research, No. 14, Pt. II), p. 13. On use of water paper, and its relevance to Aztec terms, see op. cit., p. 17 and n. 80.

like a woman, he went with a man's fortitude; he bore himself like a man; he went speaking in manly fashion; he went exerting himself; he went strong of heart and shouting, not without courage nor stumbling, but honoring and praising his city.

He went with firm heart, speaking as he went: "Already here I come! You will speak of me there in my home land!"

And so they were brought up [the pyramid temple steps] before [the sanctuary of] Uitzilopochtli.

Thereupon they stretched them, one at a time, down on the sacrificial stone; then they delivered them into the hands of six priests, who threw them upon their backs, and cut open their breasts with a wide-bladed flint knife.[8]

And they named the hearts of the captives "precious eagle-cactus fruit." They lifted them up to the sun, the turquoise prince, the soaring eagle.[7] They offered it to-him; they nourished him with it.

And when it had been offered, they placed it in the eagle-vessel.[8] And these captives who had died they called "eagle men."[9]

Afterwards they rolled them over; they bounced them down; they came tumbling down head over heels, and end over end, rolling over and over; thus they reached the terrace at the base of the pyramid.[10]

And here they took them up.

And the old men, the *quaquacuilti*, the old men of the tribal temples, carried them there to their tribal temples, where the captor had promised, undertaken, and vowed [to take a captive].

There they took [the slain captive] up, in order to carry him to the house [of the captor], so that they might eat him. There they portioned him out, cutting him to pieces and dividing him up. First of all they reserved for Moctezuma a thigh, and set forth to take it to him.

And [as for] the captor, they there applied the down of birds to his head and gave him gifts. And

moq'chchicauhtic, oqujcheoatiuh, moqujchitotiuh, mellaquauhtiuh, moiolchicauhtiuh, oalmoxxatrilitiuh, amo tlacuecuetlaxotiuh, amo tlapolotiuh, tlateniotiuh, qujiaubcaiotitiuh yn jaltepeuh:

yiollo quimattiuh, qujoalitotiuh, ie nõiauh, annechonjtonque, vmpa nochan yn.

Auh yn ie iuhquj yn oxxitiloque tlacpac, ixpan in vitzilobuchtli:

njman ie ic ceceniaca qujmonteca in techcac, ic inmac in tlamacazque, qujnchiquacencaujxia, qujmaquetzxiteca, qujmeltetequj, yca ixquaoac, patlaoac tecpac.

Auh yn jniollo, mamalti qujtocaiotia, quauhnochtli tlaçotli: conjoalia in tonatiuh xippilli, quatleuanjtl qujtlamaca, quixcaltia.

Auh yn oventic quauhxicalco contlalia, quauhxicalco contlalitiuj: auh in iehoantin mjquja mamalti, qujntocaiotiaia Coauhteca:

çatepan qujnoalmjmjloa, qujnoaltetecujchoa, chachalcatiujtze, maiotzincueptiujtze, motzotzoniquetztiujtze, mocuecuepti̊ujtze, ynjc oalaci apetlac:

auh vncan, qujmonana:

auh ie inmac in veve'tzitzin quzquacujlti, calpulvevetque: vmpa qujnujca yn incalpulco, yn vmpa omotlatlalili, omjto, omonetolti male:

vmpa conana, ynic qujujca ichan, ynjc qujquazque: vmpa qujxexelloa, qujtetequj, qujuetzeloa: oc ie achto qujtonaltia in motecuçuma ce ymetz, mantiuh in qujujquj̃lia.

Auh in tlamani, vmpa qujquapotonja, yoan quj-

6. In *op. cit.*, p. 42, Soler qualifies a "*dicho hombre Perezcozcomacuex*." Simeon (*op. cit.*) defines *ixquacuex* as "*Couteau pour les sacrifices humains, fait avec du silex ou de l'obsidienne. . . .*" Fray Toribio de Benavente Motolinía's "Historia de los indios de Nueva España," in *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (Joaquín García Icazbalceta, ed.; Mexico: Librería de J. M. Andrade, 1858), Vol. I, p. 48, definitely states that the knife was of flint, not obsidian. Motolinía describes it as "*un cuchillo ancho agudo porque . . . no se puede hacer muy agudo. . . .*"

7. *Quauhtzontli*: probably *quauhtzontli* is meant. This term, and its synonym, *quauhtzontli*, Soler (*Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 142) considers to mention the sun.

8. Soler consistently renders the term *quauhxicalli* as *Adlerschale* (cf. *Riesige Rapidel*, p. 44). In *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 135, he breaks the word down into *quauxi* and *xicalli* (wooden vessel), and argues that the syllable *quauxi* was always understood to mean eagle. The words seem actually to have been made of stone, and were used not only for the hearts but for the blood as well. Sahagún, as has unanimously been Soler, uses the term *vaisseau de madera*.

9. In Lib. II of the *Florentine Codex*, fn. 18 *c*, Sahagún writes: "*Despues mandan los cozinar, los llamavan quauhtleca.*" In *loc. cit.*, Soler translates *quauhtleca* as "the one from the eagle-land," the body of the sacrificed victim. The soul went to the house of the sun, the eastern sky, or the sun's image and representative (p. 157).

10. *Apoyauh* (cf. Soler, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 9) is a small terrace projecting at the foot of the pyramid stairway. Soler here cites Sahagún, Lib. IX, cap. 14, and Lib. II, caps. 29 and 33.

They departed hence to go to the temple to bathe. These who bathed they did not rub, but struck and slapped, [with a noise] like the breaking of ocean waves. Thus came to an end and disappeared the grease. And also this was the time for the washing of heads. The captors washed their heads and washed off the sweat with a soap [called *amolli*].[9]

For while all had fasted for their captives, they had never bathed; they had remained in filth until twenty days had passed. Likewise those of their household had never bathed. Then all bathed and washed their heads with soap. Thus it was said: "The hair was washed," or, "The filth was washed away." [For] so were they covered with filth.

And thereafter the owner of the captive set up in the courtyard [of his house] a woven twig ball on three small feet.[10] Upon it he placed the paper adornment with which had been adorned the Totec [when he died].[11]

And from here he brought out one pleasing to look upon, acceptable, and strong. He likewise was adorned [with the paper vestments of Xipe]. In them he took after people; he dispersed them; the man vexed them. He ran; he went using his shield as shelter and rattling his rattle-board. They went after him in disorder; they showered him with stones, and pelted him and attacked him with stones.

Everyone feared him, and let him pass. They said: "Now cometh he who hath washed his head."[12]

And if he seized someone, if he snatched at anyone, he despoiled him of and ran off with his cloak; and however many cloaks he took, he carried them to the house of the captor and cast them on the ground in the middle of the courtyard.

Thereupon the captor planted his "pole of the flaying of men" in the courtyard; it betokened that this man [the captor] had flayed a captive.

Moreover, at this same time he put up[on the point of the pole], so that it hung,—having removed the [remaining] flesh,—the thigh bone[13] of the captive, and suspended with it the sleeveless knotted cord jacket and a small spray of heron feathers.

And he wrapped the thigh bone with paper, and provided it a mask. And this was called the god-captive.[14]

vncã oncoa, in teupan, ynic maltitiuh, ynin nealtiaia, amo qujnmamatilooaia, çan qujntzotzona, qujntlatlatzinja, iuhqujn tlatlatzcatimanj, ic poujia, ic vel qujça in chiaoaliztli. Auh no yquac, netzonpaco in tlamanj, motzopaca, mamouja:

ipampa inic oquinneçaujlique, yn inmaloa, aic omaltique, omotzoiotique, inic oquiz cempoalilhujtl: cenvetzi yn inchantlaca, yn aic omaltique, qujnmuchiquacmaltia, mamoujia: ic mjtoa netzõpaco, anoço netzopaco, ynjc omotzoiotique:

auh çatepan itoalco, qujquetza in male, qujtlalia quxuhtzontapaiolli, ey icxi, tzicujlicxe, ytech qujtlatlalia: yn jamatlatquj, ynjc omochichioaia totec.

Auh vncan conana ce tlacatl talqualittalli, tlauelittalli chicaoac: ie no ceppa ie ic mochichioaia, ipan tetotoca, tececenmana, tlacatl qujcocomonja, motlaloa mochimalcaltitiuh, qujcacalatztiuh ychicaoaz qujcaoatztiuj, qujtetoca, q'tepachotiuj, quitecicali:

mochi tlacatl qujmauhtia, ipan macuj: quitoa, le uitz tetzompacquj:

auh intla aca cana, intla aca qujcujtiuetzi, qujpepetlaoa, qujtlatlalochtia yn jtilma: in quezçuj quitecujlia tilmatli, ychan concaoa in tlamanj, itoalnepantla tlalli ic qujojotequj in tilmatli.

Çatepan itoalco qujquetza, itlacatzipeoalizquauh, in tlamanj: ic quinextia, yno ce tlacatl quixipeuh malli.

Auh yoan yn jquac y, tlacopiloaia: auh ynaca oc concholoktiaia, yn iquentepol malli: yoan mecatzicolli, ատատաdlactzontli itech pilcac.

Auh in quextzpolli, amatica quiquojqujmiloaia, quixnaoctiaia: auh yuin motocaiotiaia, malteutl.

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9. Molina: *op. cit.*, Spanish-Nahuatl section (*amoli*).
10. Corresponding Spanish text "*un globo redondo, hecho de paxaro.*"
11. *Ibid.*: "*pusose sobre los papeles con que se auia adornado, el tapatzon quando murio.*"
12. Cf. Sahagún: *Historia*, Bk. 1, p. 93, n. 1: *netzonpaco*—"*C'est-à-dire que celuy [quand] le rasoyent, le mettoit* (meant, *on remettoit*) *dans la maison, qui l'emplissoit tellement de monde, qu'il estoit comme estouffé d'une grande foulle.*" This would imply a double connotation.
13. Sahagún's Spanish text suggests that the thigh bone was then suspended. Seler, in *Einige Kapitel*, p. 81, has "trophy."
14. *Gefangenengottheit*, in Seler, *loc. cit.*

opochtli, here at the Temple of Uitznauac, in the tribal district. They placed it on the serpent bench.

This serpent bench was hewn of wood, to represent serpents; four sides carried the tails; four sides carried their heads.

They covered [Uitzilopochtli's] mesquite wood framework with fish amaranth dough; for his figure was always hewn of mesquite wood, which they covered.

Then they placed upon him his raiment; they put on him his sleeveless jacket, on which human bones were painted.

And over it they laid a mantle, his cape of *maguey* fiber, like a network cape.

And they fitted on his paper crown, adorned with feathers, called *anecuiotl*. On his feather headdress stood a flint knife, also made of feathers, half of it being blood-colored.

Then they arrayed him in a godly, costly cape, made, embellished, and designed all in precious colored feathers, with the red eye border, all thus edged with [the feathers of] the red spoonbill. And in the center lay a great golden disc.

And his bones were made of fish amaranth dough, shaped like cylinders. They called them *tzomimilli*. They piled them before [Uitzilopochtli's figure], until they were hip high.

And the cape which covered them, and spread before them, was designed with skulls, with the palms of hands, with hip bones, ribs, legs, the lower arm bones, and with the outlines of feet. Thus was it painted.

And this cape was named *tlaquaquallo*.

And yet one more thing they caused to be spread before him: they cast down what was named the sacred roll. In this form it was named his breech clout.

And this was a paper, white paper and not yellow paper,[13] a finger thick, a fathom wide, and twenty fathoms long.

With ceremonial arrows, arrows hardened in fire, they supported it; they were made only that they might carry [the paper]; that his breech clout might be carried.

In three places were they plumed, with white turkey feathers: first on the point, second on the shaft, and third on the end.

motlacatlalia, in Vitzilopuchtli: vncan ui vitznauac, teucalco, ycalpulco: coatlapechco contlalia:

ynjn coatlapechtli, quaujtl in tlaxixintli, iuhquin cocoa, naujntin in motzinnamjctoque: nauhcampa caca yn jntzontecon:

mjchiouhtzoalli, ynjc quipepechoaia, yn jmizqujo, ca mizqujquauujtl, in tlaxintli, yn ixiptla muchipa catca, yn oquipepechoque:

njman ie ic quimaltaca yn jtlatq': conaquja yn jxicol, tlaconaquallo, ynic tlacujlolli:

yoan panj cononoloa, panj conquentia, ytzitzicaztilma: iuhqujn cuechintli:

yoan conaquja yamacal, yujtica tlachioalli, motocaiotia anecuiotl: hivitzoncal, icpac icac tecpatl, çan no hiujtl ic tlachioalli ezclapanquj:

njman conquetia teuquemjtl tlaçotlanquj: muchi tlaçoiujtl ynic tlachiuhtli, ynic tlaiecchioalli, ynjc tlacujlolli, ynic tlatenchilnaoaiotilli, yn jten, çan moch tlauhquechol: auh yn jnepantla manj, cuztic teucujtlacomalli.

Auh yn jomjio muchioaia, mjchiosuhtzoalli, mjmiltic, motocaiotiaia teumjmjlli: qujtetema ixpan veca acitoc, injc vecapan cenquappantli.

Auh yn tilmatli ic tlapachiuhtoc, yn jixco çouhtoca, tlacujlolli, tzontecomatl, macpalli, quezalpolli, omjcicujlli, tlanextli, matzotzopaztli, xocpalli, ynic tlacujlolli catca.

Auh ynjn tilmatli, motocaiotiaia tlaconaqualo:
yoan oc no centlamantli, ixpan contequjlia, ipan conteca in teumjmjlli itoca, iuh mjtoa ymaxtli:

Auh ynjn amatl catca quaoamatl, amo texamatl: ynic tilaoac cenmapilli: auh ynjc patlaoac cenmatl: auh ynjc vijac cempoalmatl:

teumjtl, tlatzontectli, tlacochtli ynjc quinapalox: çan ic muchioaia injc quinapalonque, ynjc monapalox ymaxtli:

excan in tlapotonjlli catca, iztac totoliujtica, injc ecenj, vel yiacac, ynjc vecan ytlaxichchocan, ynjc excan, vncan yn jmamaxpocan:

13. Cf. V. W. Von Hagen: *The Aztec and Maya Paper Makers* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1944), pp. 68, 72 esp. In the Bulmaro edition of Sahagún, Vol. V, p. 231, a note by Bulmaro Guardamino reads: "*Es amarillo acostumbrado por la capa de libro de algunos debalet de gluten blanco. Hermin de papel para los pinturas o los libros, y de tela para hacer las cubiertas, cuadros y otros adornos que el rudo de los dioses requería.*"

And when they were beheaded, they cast and threw them toward [the figure of] Uitzilopochtli.

And the quail, when their necks were wrung, went fluttering away, thrashing and striking the earth.

And the masters of the youths took them and gathered them up, stripped off the feathers, and roasted and salted them, seasoning them with salt.

Some they laid aside for Moctezuma, and the rest they assigned to his chiefs, only to the princes. And also to the masters of the youths, who marched in front, and also those [who were] priests.

And all took their large braziers—not their polished braziers. In them were coals and shavings of wood. They heaped it up, raised it, and made a hearth, and fired it with pine branches. And it burned exceedingly.

And they took white incense and coarse incense.[16] And when it was the proper time to offer incense, they laid coals in the incense burner and on it cast the white incense, and raised it as an offering to Uitzilopochtli.

Thus they offered him fire, they incensed him, not only here in the great temple but in their houses, and the tribal temples. Incense was offered all the gods whom they acknowledged.

And after they had dedicated the fire [and incense to the gods], then they cast the coals into the hearth [in the courtyard].

And the young women had painted their faces and were arrayed in red feathers.

And they fastened their sacrificial paper banners to canes. [The banners] were painted in black in what was called a scroll design.

And the rich [women and girls had] narrow cotton blankets thus fastened [to canes], likewise similarly painted with a scroll design.

And two masters of youths, with black paint spread on their faces, stood above and before the round fire vessel. Occupying the leading position, they carried on their backs pine wood cages with small paper banners; they carried them with tump lines which passed only across the chest.

They caused the women to begin the dance; they danced leaping, dancing in the fashion of women. And the women were in the middle, holding their sacrificial banners in both hands. They danced and

16. Thus identified in Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

Auh yn iquac tlacotonalo, yujc contlaça yujc conmaiauj, in Vitzilopuchtli. 796X

Auh in çeçelti in equechcotonaloque, tlapapatlatztinemj papatlacatinemj, tlalli ic moujujtequj, tlalli ic momomotla:

auh in teachcauan quinpepena, quinnechicoa, quinvihtlatla, quintleoatza, quimixtaioujia, quimixtaioquauhoztza: [251 263]

cequj qujtonaltia yn Motecuçoma, auh yn oc cequj qujtonaltiaia yn jtechiuhcauan, çaniioque in pipilti. Auh no ichoantin in teachcauan, tlaiacatique: no ichoan in tlamacazque,

yoan muchi tlacatl qujtquja yapãtlecax, amo iehoatl in petztlecaxitl, vncan ietiuh tlexochtli, yoan tlaxipeoalli, contepeuhtitlalia, contlecuja, contlecujtia, ocotica contlemjna, vncan tlãtlãtla. [374]

Yoan qujtquja iztac copalli: yoã quauhiocopalli: auh yn iquac yn ieinman, in ie tlenamaco, in tlexochtli qujoaltema, tlemãco, ipan contepeoa yn iztac copalli, ic conjiaujlia yn Vitzilopuchtli:

ic qujtotonjlia, ic qujpopochuja, amo çanyio vncan in vey teupã, çan no yoan intechachan, intecacalpulco, popochujlo in ixqujchtin in teteuoan inpan qujnamatia.

Auh yn oconixuhque tletl njmã ie ic contema tlexicco:

auh in cioa ichpopuchti, moxaoaia, mopotonjaia tlapaliujtica: [302 237]

yoan intẽteuh acatica qujquappachoa, tliltica tlacujlolli, motocaiotia acaxilquj: [202 289]

auh in motlacamati, cansoac ynic qujquappachoa: çan no acaxilquj ynic tlacujlolli:

Auh vmentin in tiachcauã mixtlilpopotzque, haco manj, tlexictli ixpan, qujiacatitimanj ococalli in qujmama, amapapaiocatotonti, çan quelpanmama. [302] [417]

quinpeualtilia yn cioa in netotilitzli, ynic mjtotia chocholoa, çan mocioaittotia: auh in cioa çan tlattic in manj, yn jntetеuh coonemauja, qujtotitimanj, 796X 535

leapt about. And the priests also danced. It was called "the leap in the month of Toxcatl."[17]

There were paper rosettes fastened upon [the priests'] foreheads; they decked their heads with white feathers. And they smeared honey on their lips; their lips were gleaming. They had paper breech clouts. And their black feathered staves had jackdaw feathers in the form of a cup, and a round ball at the base, also of black feathers. The black feathered staves also were called black rain-bird [staves].[18]

And where they went grasping [the staves] were papers painted with black scroll designs. And these [priests], as they danced, made circles with, and struck, their black feathered staves on the ground.

And only in the tribal temples were those who beat the drums for them, seated upon the ground. They beat the upright drums; they sat beating gourd rattles; they sat rattling gourd rattles and beating turtle shells.

And all the masters of the youths, the young seasoned warriors, and the youths were spread out, dancing elsewhere [a dance] called the serpent dance.

And hence [they named what] was danced a serpent dance, because they moved back and forth, and from side to side, and met each other face to face. They went holding each other's hands as they danced.

And also a number of young women danced, having so vowed, a popcorn dance. As thick as tassels of maize were their popcorn garlands. And these they placed upon [the girls'] heads. And they were painted; down to the thighs were they bedecked with feathers. And [these] reached up to their upper arms. And they went mingling with and among those who danced.

Of these, it was said that they embraced, they embraced one; they embraced Uitzilopochtli.

And these girls were very well guarded, that none might covet them, nor ravish them.

And all who danced the serpent dance were well watched, that none might fall into covetousness.

And if anyone were seen seducing one [of the girls], then the masters of the youths threw him to the ground. They dragged him; they stepped upon him as he lay stretched out; they trampled upon him.

chocholotimanj: auh in tlamacazque no mjhtotia, mitoa toxcachocholoa:

amaixquatechimaletimanj, amaixquatechimaleque, moquaquapotonja iztac totolivitica: yoan motetennecuvia tetentzotlantiuj, ymamamaxtli, yoan intzatzanatopil, tzanaivitl, in iuhquj ytecomaio, auh yn itzintelolojo, çan no tzanaivitl: no motocaiotia ycujtlacuchcho, in tzanatopilli.

Auh ynjc quitzitzqujtiuj, amatl acazilquj, ynjc tlacujlolli: auh in ichoantin, hin, ynjc mjtotia, tlalaoaloa, ic tlaxixiltiuj yn jntzanatopil:

auh çan calpulco, in qujntlatzotzonjliaia, çan cacate cheoxticate: çan tlalpan veuetl in qujtzotzona, aiacachotoque, aiacachquetztoque, aiotl qujtzotzona, aioujtectoque, aiochiuhtoque.

Auh yn ixquich teachcaoan, in telpuchtequjoaque, yoan in telpopuchti, cecnj manj in mjtotia, motenteoa mococoloa.

Auh ynjc mjhtotia mococoloa, ichica axic viuja, ixtlapal viuj, mjxnanamiquj, in matitech maantiujh ynjc mjtotia.

Auh no cequjntin cioa ichpopuchti, mjtotia innetol, momomochiitotia: centzontecomatl ynjc tomaoac catca, ynmomochicoxquj, yoan ymicpac contecatiuj, moxaoa, yoan in metztomaoaian aci, ynjc mopotonja, yoã ymacolpan onacia: intlan mamantiuj, intzatzalan mantiuj, in mjtotia.

Jn ichoantin hin, moteneoa tlanaoa, tenaoa, qujnaoa in vitzilopuchtli:

auh in ichoantin ichpopuchti, cenca vel pialoia, ynjc aiac qujmjxeleuiz, ynjc aiac qujncamanalhuiz.

Auh yn ixquichtin yn mococoloa, vel mopiaia ynjc aiac vncan moleuiz:

auh intla aca itto, tecamanalhuja: njmã tlalli ic qujujtequj, in teachcaoan, qujnujujlana, qujntitlicça, qujmiicça:

17. Corresponding Spanish text: *"salar e baylar de la fiesta de tozcatl"*; Ordoñez (*op. cit.*, p. 258) translates *tozcachocholoya* as *"se salen al salto de Tozcatl."*

18. Sahagún's Spanish text specifies only black feathers; cf., however, Bolondo edition, Vol. III, pp. 162-3 and 187. The last-mentioned reference to tzanatl is: *"Hay una ave que se llama tzánatl; es negra y tiene el pico corvo."* Soler (*op. cit.*, p. 106, n. 2) calls tzanatl jackdaw or daw; so (*ibid.*, p. 233) tzanatl thrush. Of this and of *cuitlacochin* he says it is *"ein Vogel, der gegen Ende der Regenzeit sich Abends lässt und dessen Schrei, nach dem Glauben der Mexikaner, Landregen verkündet zu sein. Ich habe den Namen dieses Vogels deshalb mit 'Regenpfeifer' übersetzt. Er wird wohl ein Vogel mit ähnlichem schnarrenden Geschrei gewesen sein wie der der tzanatl oder Dohlen."* Sahagún (*loc. cit.*) merely explains: *"y que entre llamanos anochecido, por ramos de la noche, que llamas obscuro, era el romance."* See also *supra*, p. 44.

[796] mant cape[16] or the dew cape, adorned with [crossed] [793] parrot feathers. Then he carried upon his back his [292] round, pleated paper flower,[17] and from the nape of his neck hung a semicircular pleated paper flower.[18]

tzitziuhio: njman conmomamaltia, in tlaquechpanjoti, yoan conmatiuh y cuexcochtlan amacuexpalli:

[302] And his forehead was painted blue, and, besides, he placed iron pyrites upon it; he sprinkled iron pyrites.[19]

yoan mixquatexoujoia, oc cepa ipan conapetzujoia, conapetzotiaia:

And in his hand he took his paper incense bag, with shells attached, covered with sea shells, also [824] known as a sea shell incense bag. It was filled with sweet-smelling herbs, with ground-up *yauhtli*.[20]

yoan itlan cantiuh yiataztli cuechcho, tlacuechiotilli, no iuh mjtoa cuechiataztli, vncan tentiuh yiauhtli, yiauhtlatextli:

And an old priest[21] bore upon his shoulders the mist rattle board.

yoan ce quacujlli conquechpanoa, aiauhchicaoaztli:

[314] And a number of priests carried in their arms rubber [molded] like men adorned as gods, called rubber gods.

auh in cequjntin tlamacazque, qujnanapaloa vlli, iuhqujn tlaca ic tlachichioalti, motocaiotia vlteteu:

[237] Some bore in their arms [pieces of] incense, quite round and conical [in shape], on the points of which were quetzal feathers, called the quetzal feather maize tassel.

cequjntin qujnanapaloa copalli, çan mjmjlmjltic quaquauitztic, icpac v icatiuh quetzalli, ytoca quetzalmjiacaiotl.

And when this was done, the flutes were played; thereupon all set forth on their way and then departed [from the temple].[22]

Auh in ie iuhquj ỹ otlapitzaloc, njman ie ic onneotemalo, mec viloa.

And as many as had been detained [for misdemeanors], those who had been taken, these they arranged in order, they held by the napes of their necks as they were spread out, or grasped with their hands, or seized by the hair; some they held by the ends of their breech clouts, which they held in their hands.

Auh in ẽzquichtin, yn oxtioaque, oquintetrecpanque, quintzitzitzquitimanj, incuexcochteuh quimaanjlitimanj, quinquaquatemotzoltzitzquitimanj, cequintin in maxtlaujcoltitech quimaantimanj.

And for the novice priests who had been seized, they made reed rests as for earthen jars, upon which they went placed. They bore [the novice priests] upon their shoulders.

Auh in tlamaxtoton, yn oxtioaque, toliaoalli quinchichiujliaia, vncan iehetiuj, quinquechpanotiuj:

And those yet a little older they went leading by the hand.

auh in ie achi qualtoton, in maxitech quimaantiuj.

And when they had set forth, then they began jostling [the captives] and pushing them; they mis-

Auh yn iquac ie oneoa, njman iquac quinpenaltia in quincujcujtiuetzi, quinmictia quinmamaiauj, in-

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16. *"Una manta delgada mosqueada, que se llama ainekpanyeli"* (*loc. cit.*). Elsewhere he mentions *"mantas delgadas que llaman ayeli"* (Robredo ed., Vol. IV, p. 66).

17. *"Una flor de papel grande menuda, redonda a manera de rodela"* (corresponding Spanish text). Later, in the same chapter, he describes the diagonal pleating as *"ornamentos, que va sobre el papel."*

18. *"El colodrillo, esta flores de papel, sembrados frontales, que sobresalen a ambas partes de la cabeça a manera de orejas de papel, como medias almendras,"* said, later in the same chapter, *"era ornamento, que se ponyan tras el colodrillo, como una flor hecha de papel"* (*loc. cit.*).

19. *"Mexicios werriors* (*sic*) *coloured the whole of their bodies black except the face, as may be seen from the drawings, but they also painted the face with a few black stripes on which they sprinkled iron pyrites* (*aperuela*)*."* (Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 93n.).

20. *"Hay otra cosa se llama yauhtli. Es muy verde, tiene muchas ramas y crecen todas juntas hacia arriba: (y) siempre huele; es sumamente medicinal para las cosas tocantes calientes, molido y echado con el cacao: huele de rosas, y despues molido y mezclado con el cacao. Aprovecha cerebro para los que siempre sueyen; y para los que tienen calentura"* (Sahagún, Robredo ed., Vol. III, p. 276).

21. Probably the singular of *quaquacuilitin* is meant by *quauxilli*. Sahagún, however, defines *quauxilli* as the priest charged with the raising of young girls dedicated to love in the temple. Cf. *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 253.

22. Following *mec viloa*, the *Real Palacio MS* contains a few lines which are missing from the *Florentine Codex*: *auh ẽnoçpãtlo yeintin yeiuan ecampoli, ecatl, in ẽchichimalli yaiel pepet y pantiuh eoac, eoatl yeiuh petlatiuh, yeiuh ẽcuahtli ecamilpol, quinçaçaltiteri, eoaca quimamaltiteri,*—and in the midst of these went what is called a reed mat, made of reeds, with two feathers [upright] upon it. Paper went hanging from it, spreading out from it, painted lengthwise with stripes. They went carrying it with much reverence.

she walked, much did she rattle, clink, jingle, and tinkle.

And her sandals, her foam sandals,[6] [had] side pieces. The side pieces were of loose cotton yarn with flecks of raw cotton woven in, put in by hand. And the tassels on the sandals were similarly of loose cotton yarn. And the sandal thongs also were of the same loose cotton yarn.

And her shield had water lilies [and flowers];[7] it was as if painted with a water lily leaf [and flower] design, [or] as if it had [that design], and was hung [also] with yellow parrot feather pendants.[8]

And the yellow parrot feather pendants were made [into tassels] like locust heads[9] [made of] eagle feathers and eagle down, and cut [pieces of] quetzal feathers and trupial[10] [feathers], and the red [and yellow wing feathers of the parrot] named *teoxolloat*;[11] and the shield [was] rimmed with a circle of yellow parrot feathers.

When she danced, she swung the shield around; it was swung in a circle.

And her reed staff was hung with paper spattered with rubber; it had rubber. In three places it had vase-like flowers, and there in the vase-like flowers was incense. On each of the three were [crossed] feathers; they were provided with [crossed] feathers.

When a dance was held, she walked leaning on it and thrusting it into the ground; she went marking the dance rhythm with it.[12]

And for ten days they sang [and danced] in the manner of women. All gathered together and took their places, the salt people and the salt-makers—the old women, the mature women, the maidens, and maidens recently matured.

While yet there was sun, while it yet shone, then they began to dance. They went arranged in order, each in his place, in rows; they held one another with

·onoc coiolli: yn iquac nenemj cenca yxaoaca, yxamaca, xaxamaca, tzitzilica, tzitzitzilica,

yoan ycacac ipoçulcac, yn icacnacaz, in cacnacaztli, icpatl potonquj inic tlaqujtli, ynjc tlamaiaqujtli: auh yn icacxochio, çan no ie in potonquj: auh yn jcacinecaio, çan ie no ic yn potonquj:

yoan ichimal atlacueçonaio, tlaatlacueçonanicuilolli, atlacueçonanjcujliuhquj, tzotlapilollo:

Auh in tzotlapilolli, yn jiacachapullo muchioa, quauhyujtl, quanmolocttli, yoan quetzalpoztectli, yoan çaquan, yoan xollotl, matlatlauhquj, motocaiotia teuxollotl, tozteneloio in chimalli.

Jn iquac mjtotiaia, qujmamalacachoa yn jchimal, ic monamana:

yoan yoztopil tlaamaiotilli, haamaio, yoan tlaulhujlli, vllo: excan in tecomaio, tetecomaio: auh yn vncan tetecomaio, vncan mamanj yiauhtli, tziuhtli yn ipan mamantiuh, tzitziuhio:

in iquac mjtotia, ic motlaquechitinemj, qujtitilquetztinemj, ic ontlayiauhtiuh.

Auh matlaqujlhujtl, in qujcioapancujcatiaia, ixquichtin cenquiça, qujcecencaoa yn iztatlaca, yn iztachiuhque: yn jlamatlaca, yoan yn jniolloco cioa, yoan ichpupuchti, yoan in ie ichpupuchchicacti:

oc vnca in tonatiuh, oc tonz in pena mjtotia, tecpantiuj, tetecpantiuj, motecpana, motetecpana mecatica, motocaiotia xochimecatl ynic maana, ynic

796x [300]
796x 292
796x 293
[237]
[535]
[314]
796x 535
[463]

6. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 4, n. 12.

7. "Waterrose," in Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 132. The shield design is the same as for Nappa tezcatl (cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 21). Sahagún's Spanish columns reads: "*Traya una rodela pintada, era como que estuviera, de la yerua que se llama nimphea.*" In Vol. III of the Robredo ed., p. 136, in Dr. Nicolás León's essay, "Ensayo de reconstitución e identificación de las láminas 98 a 138 (Núm. 368 a 965) del libro XI. de la 'Historia de las Cosas de Nueva España' escrita por Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún," acknowledgment is delivered to "*cabeza de negro. Nimphaea elegans, Hook., Nimfáceas.*"

8. "*Otra manera de papagayos llaman tozti y son estos mismos cuando ya son grandes y crecen y crian: entonces tienen las plumas muy amarillas y resplandecientes; cuentan cada una crecimiento en ellas, como papagayos tienen cada un amarillecimiento, y por esto la llaman tozti, que quiere decir cosa muy amarilla*" (Sahagún, Robredo ed., Vol. III, p. 166).

9. "*Con flores en las colas, hechas de plumas de aquella*" (Sahagún, corresponding Spanish text). *Chapulín*, however, may be an element in *fanzahapulli*.

10. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 18, n. 103.

11. "*Otra manera de papagayos hay que llaman coxbo (y) es muy semejante al que llaman tozcuexe; tiene el pico amarillo y corvo, la cabeza colorada, y todas las plumas del cuerpo verdes, los codillos y todo lo exterior de las alas, tiene colorado cenizo, matizado con amarillo; las plumas pequeñuelas que están sobre la cerca del ala que llaman tzitzil, son amarillas matizadas de colorado; el vello, como pelo tenido, que tiene cerca de la cola y cerca de las alas, es colorado matizado de amarillo*" (Sahagún, Robredo ed.; Vol. III, p. 166).

12. Cf. Jiménez (Sánchez, *op. cit.*: "*Iuan cuicuitiq cuecuex on dansar*"). In Sahagún's corresponding Spanish: "*Cuando baylauan era el ayuno, yuanse cantando el baylete, y dansando [sic] a compas del baylo.*"

1 A [i.e., the god(dess) of the salt-makers, Uixtociuatl. – Anal/nt] 87

X 796 282 And all the men, whether leaders of youths, or youths, had only black net cloaks, all with eyelets on the border, and all had turquoise [ear plugs].

301 And those who led had only bell-shaped ear plugs.[4]

304 And those who had bell-shaped ear plugs, also had lip plugs. Some were like lizards, some like dogs, some like a broad-leafed water plant, some rectangular.

[729] And the youths who already wore [their] hair long [in token of war exploits] had lip plugs which were rounded.

And all the [others] who were only youths [had] only circular lip plugs, which they set in place.

[701] And the leaders of the youths bore breast plates made of small, white, sea shells. And those with shorn hair, the Otomí, wore their neck bands with round pendants.[5] These were shells.

And the shorn ones were provided with bird-formed lip plugs; and the Otomí were docked with lip plugs formed like the broad leaf of a water plant.

And those who were diligent to be leaders of the youths bought themselves real sea shell neck bands, all clear and limpid. And the lower class bought themselves [common] shell-fish for their neck bands, [which were] only yellow, not hard, and not very costly.

X 796 293 And those who had taken captives, the leaders of the youths, carried their feather shoulder devices in the form of birds. They carried them upright over their heads.

[301 714] And the captains carried upon their shoulders feather devices [formed like] trees, tied in three places with eagle feather clusters bound with ocelot skin. And at the base they were wound in three places with red string.

237 X 796 And some raised up quetzal feathers in the form of corn silk; some a forked heron feather ornament; some set up the head plumage in bird form; some the device made of diverse quetzal feathers.

293 And upon their legs, upon their left legs, they placed hooves, real deer hooves. And the thong was of real deer skin, cut thin, cut into narrow strips.

X 796 302 And thus were they variously painted: Some placed a black stain upon their cheeks, called "black cheek ash vase," and laid pyrites [upon the stain]. And some had a black [stripe] upon their foreheads, [in

Auh in ixquich tlacatl in çaçan tiacaoã, telpopuchti: çan tlitic yn jocuechin, muchi tenjno, yoan muchintin inxixiuh:

auh in tlaiacatia, çan incocoiolnacoch: auh in cocoiolnacoche: auh yn jntenpiloã, quinamictia, cequj aujtlatztli, cequj itzcujntenpilolli, cequj apatlactli, anoço tlazantectli.

Auh yn telpopuchtin, in ie tzotzocolequc, ymaachichilacachtempilol:

auh yn ixquich tlacatl in çan telpopuchti, çan iehoatl yn aiaoaltempilolli in contlalia.

Auh in teachcauan, ymelpancuzquj, ymeelpancuzquj, cilin in tlachioalli: auh in quaquachictin, yn otomj, incuzcachachapac: iehoatl in chipulin.

Auh ya quaquachicti quinamictia, iehoatl in tototénpilolli: auh yn otomj quinamictiaia, iehoatl yn apatlactli tenpilolli.

Auh yn aquique in mocecenmati, in tiacauan, quimococouja teuchipuli in cuzcatl, cenca chipauac: auh in ça tlatzacuja in ça tlatoquaia, iehoatl yn achipulin quimocoujaia, yn incuzquj, çan cuztic, amono tlaquauac, amono cenca patio.

Auh in tlamanjme, in telpuchiaque, intototlamanal, in cõquequetztinemj yn imicpac.

Auh in tequjoaque, quauhtzontli in quimamaia, excan yiztiuh, quauhtlalpilonj, ocelueoatica in tlaquimilolli: auh in itzintlã excan in chichilicpatica tlacujztli.

Auh in cequjntin, xiloxochiquetzalli in conquetza in cequjntin aztaxelli, in cequjntin quatototi in conquetza, in cequjnti yntlatlachichioalquetzal.

Auh yn imicxic ymopuchcopa in cõtlaliaia chocholli, vel iehoatl in maçachocholli: auh yn jmecaio, çan no iehoatl yn maçacoatl, tlapitzaoacatectli, tlapitzaoacazotlalli.

Auh ynic mjchioaia, mjiec tlamantli, cequjtin tlilli incamapan contlaliaia, itoca tlilcamanexcomjtl, ca petzujaia: auh in cequjntin ymixquac qujujca in tlilli, in nacaztitlan conaxitia, motocaiotia tlilxotl,

4. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún mentions copper, which may have been the material of which the bells were made.
5. Seler (op. cit., p. 144) has drawn Porträtaufnahmen für verschiedene Lippen.

And after that it was quickly lifted upright. Much did the earth stir, move, and swirl. Upon this, they cast stones in [the hole]—all these round rocks—throwing in large stones, pouring them in. And when [the space] was filled with stones, then it was covered with earth. Thereupon each went to his house; all was quiet and calm.

auh in ie iuhquj onmoquetztivetzi, vel tecujnj in tlalli, vel olinj, yoā comonj: in ie ihuquj, njmā ie ic quitetema: muchi ichoatl in teololli, in vevei tetl conmaia, contepeoa: auh in omoteten, njman ie ic motlalpachoa in panj, njman ie ic vivilo͞a, cacalacoa, cactivetzi, cactimomana.

And thereafter came out the captors [with] their captives, who were to be cast into the fire. [The captors] were well arrayed and adorned. They were painted with yellow ochre; their faces were stained red. They bore upon their backs butterfly devices made of red arara feathers. And their shields [were decorated with] lower legs[7]—those of either eagles or ocelots. These were designed on this shield in feathers. Hence were these named "shields with legs."

Auh njman ie ic valquiça in tlamanjme: in immalhoan, in motlepantlazque, vel mocencaoa, mochichioa, motecocauhaltia, mjztlapalhuja, in quimama tlaviztli, papaloti: çan cuecalin in tlachiuhtli: yoā in jchimal tetepontli, aço quauhicxitl, anoço ocelomatetepontli, in vncā chimalpan icujiuhtica, hivitica: ic moteneoa in chimalli, tetepontli:

And so they went dancing with the captives; they went winding back and forth. Thus they proceeded by twos. The captives, they who were to be cast into the fire, also danced. They covered their bodies with white clay; they had paper breech clouts and paper shoulder sashes; then they had their paper wigs, and they decked their heads with feathers. They had feather lip plugs; they were stained bright red about the mouth; they were stained black in the hollows of the eyes.

ic mjtotitivi, momalitotitivi, momamātivi: ic vmpatitivi in mamalti in motlepantlaçazque, no mjtotitivi, quintiçavia, imaamamaxtli, imamaneapanal, njmā ie imamatzon, quinquapotonja; imjvitençac, motenchichiloa, mjztentlilcomoloa.

And when the sun set, then it all ceased, and they shut the captives in. And the captors departed. There in the same place reposed those who owned the captives. They guarded their captives.[8]

Auh in oncalac tonatiuh: njmā ie ic mocacaoa, quincalcaquja in mamalti: auh in tlamanjme vivi: çan no vncan onmotlalia in maleque, quinpia in immalhoan.

And then they started holding a vigil for them. It was already far into the night when the old men, those of the tribal temple, to which they belonged, departed. And when they ended the vigil, it was midnight, in the deep of night, when night divided in half.

Auh in pena in quintoçavia, ie tlaquauhiova in quiça: ichoantin in calpolvevetque, in calpoleque, in vncan povi: auh in mocacaoa in tetoçavia, iovalnepantla, iovalli itic, ioalli xelivi:

After that the captors then took [some of the captives'] hair; they took hair from the crowns of the captives' heads—a little of the captives' hair, [which] they cut from the crowns of their heads. They bound the ends [of the locks of hair] with bright red thread, to which were attached two heron feathers, forked. And the obsidian knife with which they cut the hair they named the "falcon nail."

in ie iuhquj, njman ie ic tetzoncujva, in tlamanjme: quintzoncuj in mamalti, inquanepantla, aquitzon intzō in mamalti, quintequjlia in inquanepantla, chichilicpatica quicuitlalpia, aztatl itech ca, vme, maxaltic: auh in jtztli inic quitequja intzon: quitocaiotiaia, itztlotli:

After they had taken [the hair], then they put it into a small, woven reed basket, called the "hair basket." This hair basket the captor carried to his

in ie iuhquj in oconcuique, njmā ic cōtema petlacaltonco, itoca: tzonpetlacalli: inin tzonpetlacalli, quivica in jchan tlamanj, aco quipiloa, ic monextia in

7. Literally, knee. Most flanders, however, renders compound as tibia.
8. The context suggests a distinction between dismissive and exclusive.

796 714 richly adorned, with much gold, covered with gold, and with many quetzal feathers, covered with quetzal feathers.

And when they had been given these devices, then they went to perform the hand-waving dance. Moctezuma led it, wonderful [to look upon] as he moved. Before all they displayed the arms and insignia, glistening far like the sun's rays, glittering greatly—these devices.

796 And after this, when it had ceased, when the sun was near setting, then came forth [the priests of] Chicome coatl,[15] representatives of those wearing the skins of flayed sacrificial victims who, when [the likeness of] Toci died, also died at the same time.

Then these issued from their temples, to strew seeds [of maize] here at the banquet table of the devil [Uitzilopochtli, which is a pyramid] not very high.[16] And when they had climbed up [the pyramid], then [244] they flung, sowed, and scattered the seed among the onlookers—white maize grains, yellow, black, red;[17] and squash seeds. All scrambled for them, as if stealing or snatching them, and in truth fought over them.

And the maidens who belonged among [the priests of] Chicome coatl were known as priestesses. They [314 289] bore upon their backs the ears of dried maize, seven ears each, striped, painted well with liquid rubber, well girt in paper and wrapped in costly capes. And the priestesses who carried them upon their backs had [302] their faces painted and [their arms and legs] pasted with feathers. And also they proceeded singing as they went; the priests of Chicome coatl intoned the chant for them.

And when this was done, when they had scattered the seed, thereupon [the priests] went back whence they had come. Then were brought down the [white] [317 237] chalk and [white] feathers, which lay in a wooden vessel, from above, [in the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. And he who brought down the chalk was the fire priest. When he had come down to reach the base of the pyramid, then he placed it there on the landing.[18]

And when he had placed it, then set forth the chiefs, running hard and fast. In truth then were beheld the fast and light runners. He who came first quickly took for himself a handful of feathers. Then

tlanquj in tlauiztli, cenca teucujtlaio, mocetencujtla cenca quetzallo, moca quetzalli.

Auh yn oconmomacaque, njman ie ic uj momatlaçaque, qujiacana in Motecuçoma, cenca mauiçotiuj: teixpan qujnextia in tlauiztli, cenca veca in motonameiotia, cenca mihiiotia in tlauiztli.

Auh in ie iuhquj, yn onecacaoaloc in jquac ie tentlac, mec oalquiça in chichicomecoa, in jmjxtiptlaoan no tototecti: in jquac mjquj toci, no iquac mjqui.

Mec oalquiça in intetecupan, oalxinachpixoa: vncan in jtlaquaian diablo, amo cenca vecapan. Auh in otlecoque: njman ic qujoalchachaiaoa, qujoaltetepeoa, qujoalcecenmana tepan, in xinachtli: izzac tlaolli, coztic tlaolli, iaviti, xiuhtoctli, yoã xiovachtli, iuhqujn namoialo, iuhqujn n.omotzolo, netlapepenjlo, vel ipan nemjmjctilo.

Auh in jchpopochti in intech povi chichicomecoa: moteneoa, cioatlamacazque: qujmomamaltiaia in cintli, chichicoomolotl, oltica qujxaxaoaoaia in cintli, yoan amatica in qujnqujqujmjloaia, yoã tlaçotilmatica in qujnmama in cioatlamacazque, mozaoaia, mopotonjaia, no cujcativi, qujncujcatitivi in chichicomecoa.

Auh in ie iuhquj, in oxxinachpixoa njman ie ic vi in motlatizque: njmã ie ic oalteno in tiçatl yoã hivitl, quauhxicaltica manj, in jcpac vitzilobuchtli: auh in qujoaltemovia tiçatl, tlenamacac: in ocxitico tlatzintlan, mec qujmana in vncã Coaxalpan.

Auh in oqujman: njman ic eoa in tiacaoan, cẽca motlaloa, cenca totocoa, vel vncan neci in painanj in tlaçani: in aqujn iacattiuh, qujmotzolotiquiça in jvitl: njman ic molonj, njmã ie ic ipan onnetepeoalo

15. "*Los sarvajes, de la diosa chicomez coatl*" (corresponding Spanish text).
16. "*Estos se subian, cuando yo era pequeño, que se llamauan [sic] la casa de almolohuchtli*" (loc. cit.). *Codex Barbonicus*, manuh ol Ochpaniztli, illustrates it. Pino y Troncoso, *op. cit.*, p. 143.
17. *Xinhtzolmolli*, in Simeon (*op. cit.*) is defined as male rouge. See, however, n. 12, p. 62.
18. "*Pongasle abaxo, en un lugar que se llamaua cuauhtli, que era en espacio, que auia entre las gradas del en, y el patio abaxo, el qual espacio subia por ocho, o xeys, gradas*" (corresponding Spanish text).

X 796 Ixcoçauhqui, he who [was named] Xiuhtecutli, who
[776] likewise was god of the merchants. Only these came last, behind [the others], last of all; because they were already old.

And after this, then began the casting [of victims] into the fire, there on the large altar.[8] Indeed many wretched captives they cast into the flames.

X 796 And when they were being cast into the fire, there
292 then went dancing [one arrayed as a] squirrel. He
535 was bedecked with a small feather crest; he had a crest. The painting on his face was in two colors. He bore a small box upon his back as he went, in which
[198] was a small dried rabbit. When they cast one into the flames, [the dancer] whistled with his fingers.

And one [in the likeness of a] bat was there, [also]
[534] doing a dance; indeed [in an array] like a bat was he adorned. He had two gourd rattles which, one in each hand, he went rattling.

And when they had cast [the captives] into the fire, then the priests formed themselves in rows, that they might descend. [They were bedight with] their paper stoles, which were painted with designs.

X 796 They took one another's hands, grasping them
535 firmly. When the line [of the procession] was broken, where a gap was formed [in the line], one was, as it were, thrown off. Some fell, striking the ground, biting the earth. This was called "They fall upon their hands."

And next day all assembled at the same time to
● [237] dance the serpent dance. All were decked in colored feathers—yellow, bright red, orange, and green. Thus were people adorned with feathers—[even] all the small children, although they [still] lay in their cradles—all the people, [but] only the men.[9]

Thereupon was begun the serpent dance, at midday. Hands were clasped; there was song. It was no matter what [song] they intoned—mere pleasure songs. And when they ceased, it was night. And any who were taking much pleasure, verily, spent the night there.

And these two festive days they had already taken from the [next month], Tepeilhuitl.

Enough. Here endeth and concludeth the feast [of the month] Teotl eco.

quj, icheotl in Xiuhtecutli, çan no pochteca intech catca, ça oallatzacujtivia, ça oallatoquilitivia, ça qujoalcentzacujtivia: ichica ca ie vevetque.

Auh in jquac in, njman ic peoa in tetlepantlaxo, vncan in teccalco: vel mjequjntin, in quintlepantlaçaia, mamaltzitzinti:

auh in vncan tetlepãtlaxo, vncan mjtotitinemj techalotl, çan mochichioaia quachichiquiltone, quachichiquile, mjxtecujcujlo: ioacalton qujmamatinemj, vncan onotinemj, tochtlaoetzaltontli: in jquac ce contlaça tleco, mapipitzoa:

youan ce tzinacan vncan nenca, mjtotitinemj, vel iuhqujn tzinacan: ic no mochichioaia vntetl in jtiacach, vccampa in aiacachotinemj.

Auh in ontetlepantlaxoc, mec oalmotecpana in tlamacazque: injc oaltemo, imaamaneapanal, tlacujlolli:

maana, in matitech maana, cencã motetеuhtzitzquja: inon omocotonque, in omotlacavilique, iuhquin mochichiccanauhtivi, in aca tlalli ic movitequj, tlalli qujquativetzi. Inin moteneoa mamatlavitzoa.

Auh in jmuztlaioc, onnenechicolo, cenvetzi, in necocololo, hivitica necujcujlolo, in coztic, in chichiltic, in vitztecolli, in xoxoctic, injc mjvicujcujloa, muchintin in pipiltotõti, in manel coçolco onoc, cenca ixquich tlacatl, çan ichoantin in oquichtin:

njman ie ic peoalo in nococololo, nepãtla tonatiuh, neaano, cujco, çaço ac tle quena, çan avilcujcatl: auh in necacaoalo, ie iooa: auh in aca cenca-compaquj, vel vncan iovilia:

auh in jiomjlhujixti y, ie cuel cẽcujlia in tepeilhujtl.

Je ixquich njcan tlamj, njcan tzonquiça in ilhujtl Teutl eco.

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8. ". . . en ese dónde ardía ese ocbiloo sieno en un gran montón de fuego muchos cautivos, en la fuera que se llamaba tzonhuac; y hacían las ceremonias aquella ceremonia que se llamaba tzontemoztiloo, como se dijo en la misma fiesta de tzonhuac" (Sahagún, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 221).
9. ". . . porque no los hacían sino al dios Acolmiztli" (ibid., p. 236). Cf. Clavigero, op. cit., p. 166.

And when they had burned, they there buried their charcoal and ashes.

And of those slain in battle, their streamers, their costly banners, their shields, and their capes, and their breech clouts they placed upon a dry maize stalk, tied on. From it hung loose twisted, red cotton thread. At its end there hung a [dead] hummingbird, and four hundred [white] heron [feathers]. Many cords were pasted with feathers. At the ends hung heron [feathers]. They left these in the eagle bowl, where they burned.

And the sixth day was named "They come upon the grass."[1] And for this reason they named it "They come upon the grass," [that] grass was scattered [in the Temple of Mixcoatl]. This [was] grass from under the pine trees. Here were ranged in their places the old women [who served the temple]. Before them lay a mat.

Thereupon came forth women with children. Each one heaped upon the mat five sweet *tamales*. All together, by fives, they laid them [there]. They came to give their children to the old women. And the old women came to take the children; they then dandled them in their arms. Then, those who danced their children in their arms gave them [back] to their mothers.

Then [the mothers] departed to their homes. This began in early morning. And it was time to eat when they finished. And when this was done, then all departed to hunt. They went to Çacatepec, there by Ixillan tonan.

And when ten days still remained in this month, as hath been said above, they then celebrated a feast in honor of the god of the Otomí, who was named Mixcoatl, in the manner which will be set forth.

And when they had arrived there at Çacatepec, nothing was done. Only when they arrived, they all made grass shelters, in which to sleep; all lit fires, to warm themselves.

And at dawn, thereupon food and drink were eaten and drunk. Then all arrayed and wrapped mantles about themselves.

Then all departed; all were ordered and disposed in a row, stretching like a rope nowhere broken. All, in this manner, encircled all the deer, coyotes, rabbits, and hares; cautiously they closed in upon them.

And when they had come upon them, then all

auh in ontlatlac, in jtzcollo, yoan inezo, vncã contoca.

Auh in oiaonjcque in inmecapan, yoan intlaçopan, yoan inchimal, yoã intilma, yoan inmaxtli, oonquauhtitech in qujtlaliaia, qujlpiaia, itech pilcatiuh chichilicpatl, potonquj ic tlamalintli, yiacac pilcatiuh vitzitzilin, yoã cẽtzonaxtatl, mjec in mecatl, qujpotonjaia hivitica, yiacac pilcatiuh aztatl, vmpa concaoa in quauhxicalco, vmpa tlatlaia.

Auh injc chiquacentlamantli: motenecoa, çacapã qujxoa: auh injc motenecoa, çacapan qujxoa, motzetzeloa, çacatl: iehoatl in ocoçacatl, vncan motecpana in jlamatque, cr petlatl imjxpan onoc.

Nimã ie ic oalmoiacatia in pilhoaque çioa, contentimanj petlapan mamacujltetl in tzopelic tamalli: ceniauh, in mamacujltetl contema: qujmõmacativi in impilhoan, in ilamatque: auh in jlamatque, qujnoalantimanj in pipiltotonti, njmã qujmonjtotia inmac: njmã ic qujmõmaca, in tenanoan, in oquimonjtotilique inpilhoan:

njmã ic iatimanj in inchachan, oc iocatzinco in pecoaia. Auh in ie tlaqualizpan in necacalo: auh in ie iuhquj, njman iecvilo in anjoaz, vmpa tlamattivi in çacatepec, vmpa in jxillã tonan:

Auh in jmatlaciuc metztli y, in tlacpac omoteneuh: vncan qujlhujqujxtilaia, in intecuh otomj: in mjtoaia Mixcoatl in jpanjn motenecoaz.

Auh in onazioac in vmpa çacatepec aiatle muchioaia, çan oc qujxqujch haxzioa nexaxacaltilo, in vncan cocochioa, tlatlatlatilo, neezcolo.

Auh in otlatvic, njman ie ic tlatlaqualo latlion: njmã ie ic nechichioalo, nehaapanalo:

mec vilo, netecpanalo, nevipanolo: iuhquin mecatl motilinja, acan cotonj: muchi tlacatl im juh, qujniaoalo in jxquichtin mamaça, in coiotl, in tochtli, in citli: çan jvian inpan onmonamjquj.

Auh in ovel inpan onmonamjc, mec tenamoialo,

1. "*Se sube a la grama*" (*zacapan quimaqui*), according to Garibay (*loc. cit.*).

**Thirty-seventh Chapter**, which telleth of the feasts and ceremonies performed in the days of the eighteenth month, which was called Izcalli.[1]

The eighteenth feast was the one named Izcalli.

Upon the tenth day of Izcalli *tamales* stuffed with greens were eaten. [On this day] it was maintained and said, "Our father, the fire, roasteth [food] for himself." They set up his image—only a framework of wood which they made.[2] They gave it a mask, his face, made of precious green stone, horizontally striped with turquoise. It was very awesome; it gleamed as if it shone exceedingly; it cast much brilliance.

And they fitted upon it its quetzal feather crown, quite narrow at the bottom [but] large enough to fit around the head. The quetzal feathers spread out [above]. And two plumages stood ohe on each side, made like his horns. And the plumages both had quetzal feather vases. And to the base of the quetzal feather crown was sewn yellow hair, very carefully trimmed. And his lordly hair hung to his shoulders; and it was very evenly cut.

And when they put it on him, [it was] verily as if [it were] his own hair.

And they laid over him a cape of quetzal feathers, made entirely of quetzal feathers, which hung long, trailing upon the ground. The wind penetrated it, [making it, as it were,] stir upward, [so that it] glittered and gleamed.

And his mat was made of the skin of an ocelot—an ocelot skin laid flat [with] paws extended and also its head lying flat. And this [image of] Xiuhtecutli was before a brazier. At midnight [the priest] used the fire drill [to make the new fire]. And when a flame burst forth, then he blew upon it, and then made the fire.

And when the fire had been lit, when it was dawn, and the morning had reddened, then ranged them-

**Inic cempoalli on cxtolli omome, capx.** ytechpa tlatoa, yn ilhuitl, yoan in tlamauiztililiztli, in motequipanoaia, in ipan vel ic cemilhujtl, ic cxtoltetl omey metztli, in mjtoaia in motenteoaia Yzcalli. 796 K

Inic cxtoltetl omey ilhujtl: ichoatl in motenteoa Yzcalli:

in izcalli tlamatlacti in qualoia cauhquiltamalli, motenteoa, mitoaia, motlaxqujan tota, ichoatl in tletl, qujtlaliaia; yxiptla, çan colotli, in quichioaia, quixiacatiaia, yn ixaiac chalchiujtl in tlachioalli, xiujtl ynic ixtlan tlatlaan, cenca mauiçoticatca, cenca pepetlaca iuhqujn cuecuecioca, cenca mihiiotia: 796 K 796 778 [262]

yoan conaquja yn itnontecō quetzalcoinjtl, çan tzinpitzaoac, vey ynic quamalacachtic, iuhqujn zezeliuj quetzalli: auh vme in quammalitli, iuhqujn iquaquauh muchioa, nenecoc in mamanj. Auh in quammalitli, quetzaltzontecomaio yiomextti: auh yn jxintlan quetzalcoinjtl, itech tlatzontli tzoncoztli, cencan quenmach in tlaquatectli, cencā quenmach in moquatec: auh ycujtlacaxxiuhian vetzrica yn itecutzon, cencan no quenmach in tlaquatectli in tlatzontectli. [237]

Auh yn iquac oconaqujque, iuhqujn ma nelli itzoñ:

yoan conquentia in quetzalquemjtl, çan motqujtica quetzalli, cenca veca in vilantoc, tlalpan vivilantica: in ehecatl itlan calaquj, iuhqujn maacomana, iuhq'n cuecuecioca, iuhqujn cuecuecioa.

Auh yn jpetl muchioa, occluecatl, occlupetlatl mamaçouhtoc, çan iuh ca in jxtootecon, intlapach onoc: auh in ichoatl xiuhtecutli ixpan ca tlecujlli, iocalnepantla in tlequauhtlaça. Auh in ovetx tletl, njman ie ic quipixtza, mec tletlalia: [281] [372]

auh in omotlali tletl, in otlavic, in otlatlalchipaoac, mec onmotecpana, ōmiacatia in telpopochti, in 796 K

1. "Vinculo," or "the spending," according to Cordova, *op. cit.*, p. 316. Torquemada favors the meaning "rebirth" (*op. cit.*, p. 388): "quiere decir Renovación, y de la renovación; porque por cuenta siempre, de quarta mudar el tiempo, y passar de fria á calor, y renovarse la Primavera." Clavigero (*op. cit.*, p. 172, n. 54) is to suggested that the literal meaning of Izcalli is "born in the house."

2. Sahagún's corresponding Spanish text reads: "hazian la estatua del dios, del fuego de madera, y poco ancho, como una vara, que ellos llaman estado, que quiere decir estadio, o medida."

work which they made.[5] They put upon it a mask made of [a mosaic of bits of] shell. The lower part of the face was blackened, made black with black stones called *teoxtli*. And they striped the face horizontally with black mirror stones.

And upon his head they fitted a ball of yellow parrot feathers; the device for the back of his head, made of precious feathers, served as the lock of hair of the back of his head. And they set upon him his flame headdress, made of feathers from the neck of an eagle.[6] This glowed, and [it had] plucked [single] arara feathers set in order.[7] When he put it on, it appeared in truth to flare up. And his vestments were made only of arara feathers—a red arara feather cape, which trailed long.

And they laid before him *tortillas* made of uncooked, ground maize,[8] or small *tortillas*. They ground the maize. And when it was [ground to a] flour, then they mixed hot water with it, and afterwards it was sweetened. Then, they offered the *tortillas*, some [of which] had shelled beans, cooked, not raw.

And when they had set Milintoc in place, then severally all the common folk made offerings before him, coming together each with five [*tortillas*]. A great quantity of small *tortillas* were heaped up before him.

Similarly the youths and small boys were ranged in order; they hung on sticks the serpents and all the small animals, as hath been said. They offered them to the old men, and the old men cast them into the fire. And the quite small serpents and the other quite small animals burned up and charred. And the well-grown serpents, when they had been roasted, they went to take out, casting them forth upon the hearth. There they were piled up. Later, the old men of the tribal temple ate them.

And the youths and small boys then came forth, and they offered each of them a small *tortilla*. Then they departed. And after this the small *tortillas* were eaten.

Thereupon [all] were refreshed [with wine]; the old men refreshed themselves there at the Temple, the tribal shrine, of Milintoc. And the wine makers, those whose office it was to make wine, left with

muchioa, ichoatl in tliltic tetl, motocaiotiaia teuteel, yoan ixtlan tlatlaan, texcapoctli ica:

auh in conaquja itzontecon, ichoatl in tozpoloua in jcuexpal muchiuhtica, tziuhtli in tlachioalli, itziuhcuexpal, yoan contecatica itlachinolxuchiuh, totolquechtapalcatl in tlachioalli: ichoatl in juhquj xoxotla, yoan cueçalin in tlaxconolli: yoan tlavipantli: in jquac conteca iuhqujn ma nelli tlatlatoc: auh in jtlaquē çā no cueçalin in tlachioalli, cueçalquemjxl, no veca vilantoc.

Auh ixpan qujmanaia vilocpalli, anoço macuextlaxcalli: tlaolli in qujteci: auh in ie iotextli, njmā catotonjlpachoa, çatepan tzopelia: njmā ic qujmana in tlaxcalli, cequj tlaoio, epaoaxtlaoio, amo xoxouhcatlaoio.

Auh in oqujtlalique Milintoc, mec tlamanalo ixpan, ceceniaca in maceoálti, ceniauh in mamacujlli, ixachi in jxpā motepeuhtitlalia, macuextlaxcalli:

auh çan no ivi in motecpana in telpopochti, in pipiltotonti, quauhtitech qujnpipiloa in cocoa, yoan in jxqujch omjto in ioiolime: qujmonmacatimanj, in vevetque: auh in vevetque, tleco qujmōmaiauhtimanj: auh in çan tepitoton cocoa, yoan in oc cequjntin çan tepitoton in ioiolitoton, vel tlatla, tecoltia: auh in veveintin cocoa, in ōmoxcaque, qujmonantivi, tlecujllan qujnoallaxtimanj, vncā motepeuhtitlalia, çatepan qujnqua in calpulhuevetque.

Auh in telpopochtin, in pipiltotonti, ic oalqujxtimanj, cecen qujnoalmacatimanj, in macuextlaxcalli: njmā ic vivi. Auh in ie iuhquj in onqualoc, macuextlaxcalli:

njmā ie ic texcalcevilo, texcalcevia in vevetque in ynean iteupan, in jcalpolco Milintoc. Auh in tlachicque, in tecutlachicque, qujoalcaoa cecen caxitl in vetli, anoço cecen xicalli, anoço cecem apiloltepitotō,

5. Corresponding Spanish text: "*hazian otra cara, cubrianse del olor, del humo, de pedillos y cenizas caudas, como una ceniza. . . .*"

6. *Tzonlquechtapalcatl*: in Lib. XI, Cap. i, §4 (Robredo ed., Vol. III, p. 181), Sahagún says of the Mexican eagle, "*los plumajes del cuello y de las hombras, hazia la cola, eran de hombras de cuerdas (y) Bermejas tapadas. . . .*"

7. Corresponding Spanish text: "*y entrepuestas unas pennillas de plumas peladas, que parecian como pennillas de saetas.*".

8. *Uilocpalli*: "*una manera de tortas que llamaua uilocpalli, de maiz molido, hechas sin cozer. . . .*" (Sahagún, Robredo ed., Vol. III, p. 380).

when he had been living in the likeness of another, had walked with head high, had lived as a captive, had been drunk, and had gone in high estèem.

And for this reason was [the month] named "Izcalli ẏath ended": all the small children, all of them they took up and lifted by the neck. For it was said, they [thus] grasped them that they might grow; thus they would speedily grow tall; they would wax great and strong.

And they divided the heart of the *maguey* plants; they broke, peeled, and opened it. And they cleaned the cactus and pruned its branches, because thus it would quickly be given new life and growth.

And at this [feast of] Izcalli, there also came to pass, every four years, the bringing out of the children and the drinking of wine by the children. And then the chiefs danced a lordly dance, along with their courtiers. And they put on their wigs of hair; in truth they were head pieces made of long hair and covered with green stone. [The hair] fell, verily, to the chiefs' waists.

And for this reason one said that the children were brought forth: the fathers and mothers of all the small children first sought out those who would bring them to the priests' dwelling, a place named Tezcacoac—a woman and a man whom they invited. It was said that they were to be uncles and aunts [of the children]; they became uncles and aunts [for them].

And not their kin did they take; they secured only their friends, whom they chose and to whom they gave gifts. They laid out capes and breech clouts for us men. Likewise, for a woman they laid out her skirt and shirt.

At midnight they took [the children] to the priests' dwelling. There they pierced and drilled their ears. [And the children] cried out [as] the pointed bone pierced their ears. They drew through a thread of unspun cotton, and bound it to them, as the little ones cried out and squirmed, and shed tears. And they pasted upon their heads yellow macaw feathers and soft down.

And the women who became aunts were pasted with red feathers, but only upon the legs and arms, and they covered themselves with their paper flowers, which were called their noble flowers.

When they had pierced [the children's] ears, then they took them to their homes. Here they sat attending them; they sat in vigil, awake, [thus] remaining

oaquetztinẽca otlamattinenca, omjvintitinõca omoveliztinenca.

Auh injc mjtoa Jzcalli, tlami yn ixquichtin pipiltotonti, muchintin qujnquechaana, qujnacopiloa: ic mjtoa qujmizcalloana, qujmizcalaana, ynic iciuhca quaquauhtiezque, manazque, moaxpacuzque:

yoũ in metl qujiolloxeloa, qujiollotzaiana, qujiollotlapana, qujiollotoma: auh yn nopalli qujtlaiectilia, qujmatzpeoa, ipampa ynic iciuhca manaz, moxcaltiz, moaxpaoaz.

Auh yn ipan y, Izcalli, no vncan muchioaia, ynic nauhxiuhtica nepilquixtiloia, pillaoanoia: yoan vncan motecujtotiaia in tlatoque, yoan yn inpillooan: yoan cuntlaliaia yntzonpilinal, centlamantli, tzoncalli catca, viiac in tzontli ic tlachiocalli, qujchachalchiuhiotiaia, vel incujtlacaxiuhiã vetzia in tlatoque.

Auh ynic mjtoa nepilquixtilo, yn jxquichtin pipiltotonti, yn jntahoan, yn jnnahoan, achtopa qujntemoliaia, in quinvicazque calmecac, itocaiocan tezcacoac ce cioatl, ce oquichtli in qujnotzaia, mjtoa: qujntlatia qujmaviti̇a, tetlati, teaviti:

auh amo inoaniolque in qujmanaia, çan incoapan intlaanaia, in tlapepenaia, qujntlauhtiaia: tilmatli, maxtlatl, contlalilaia in toquichtin: no ivi in cioatl, icue, ivipil contlalilia

ioalnepantla in qujnvicaia calmecac, vmpa qujnnacazxapotla, qujnnacazcoionja pipitzcatiuh in omjtl injc qujcoionja innacaz, potonquj icpatl in vmpa conquixtia, vncã qujmonjlpilia iuhqujn tlatzactiztleoa, tlatzatzatzi, tlachoquixtleoa in pipiltzintzinti, yoan tocivitica tlachcaiotica qujnpotonjaia in jmjcpac:

auh in teaviti cioa, çanjo imjcxic, yoũ itmac in mopotonjaia tlapalivitica, yoan imamaxochiuh contecaiavia: mjtoa, intecuxochiuh.

In jquac oquimõnacaxxapotlaque, njmã ic qujnoalhujuica in inchachan, vncan quichichitoque inxoçotque, toçotoque tlatlatviltinoque, quichixtoque in

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

643 **Ninth Chapter**, in which is told that with which the rulers were arrayed when they danced.

**Injc chicunnauj capitulo** vncan motenecoa injn nechchioaia in tlatoque in jcoac macoaia.

301 The [head] band with [two] quetzal feather[1] tassels set off with gold, with which they bound their hair;

Quetzallalpilonj, coztic teocujtlaio injc qujlpiaia, intzon

[237] A quetzal feather crest device set off with gold, which he bore upon his back;

quetzalpatzactli, coztic teocujtlaio in qujmama

A finely wrought headdress of red spoonbill[2] feathers, with flaring quetzal feathers, and with it a drum [covered] with gold—a device which he bore upon his back as he danced;

tlauhquetzoltzontlj tlaçotlanquj, quetzalli icuecuetlacacaio, iujcal ueuetl coztic teocujtlaio, in tlaujztli in qujmama mjtotia

A golden arm band;[3]

teucujtlamatemecatl, coztic

Golden ear plugs, which he inserted [in the lobes of his ears];

teocujtlanacochtli coztic in caquja

[281] A wrist band of cured leather, on which was a large, round, green stone or a fine turquoise which

[314] he placed on his wrist; [it was] treated with Peru balsam, so that it gleamed;

matzopetztli in cuetlaxtli, vej chalchiujtl ololiuhquj, anoço vej teuxiujtl ipan ca in jmaquechtlan qujtlalia ujtzilozitica injc tlachiuhtli injc tlapetzolli

A green stone lip plug set in gold;

chalchiuhtentetl coztic teucujtlatica callo,

[237] A long, white labret of clear crystal, shot through with blue cotinga[4] feathers, in a gold setting, which he inserted in his [lower] lip;

iztac teçacatl, xiuhtototica tlamjntli, iztac teujlotl in jntenco caquja, coztic teucujtlatl in jcallo.

[317] A long, yellow labret of amber in a gold setting;

Coztic teçacatl, in apoçonalli teucujtlatica tlacallotilli,

643 A long, curved, green stone labret, fitted at the base in a gold setting;

chalchiuhteçacanecujlli, coztic teucujtlatl ic tlatzincallotilli,

301 A gold lip pendant;

teucujtlatempilolli coztic

532 A gold lip pendant in the form of a pelican;[5]

atototempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A gold lip pendant in the form of an eagle;[6]

quauhtempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A gold lip pendant in the form of a fire serpent;

xiuhcoatempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A gold lip pendant in the form of a boating pole;

aujctempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,

A disc-shaped lip plug of fine turquoise in a gold setting;[7]

temalacatentetl teuxiujtl coztic teucujtlatl icallo,

A curved, green stone lip plug in a gold setting;

chalchiuhtencololli, coztic teucujtlatl icallo,

A green stone lip plug in the form of an eagle, fitted at the base in a gold setting;

chalchiuhquauhtentetl, coztic teucujtlatl itzincallo,

1. Clark, *op. cit.*, II, p. 112, identifies quetzalfeather as Pharomachrus mocinno mocinno.
2. Platalea ajaja L. (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 124).
3. One such is described quite fully in Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, p. 67.
4. Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 134, identifies blue cotinga as Cotinga amabilis.
5. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 382.
6. Quauhtecuani: quauh could mean warrior; elsewhere we always give preference to the meaning eagle.
7. After this phrase, the Real Academia de la Historia MS has chalchiuhcozcatentetl coztic teucujtlatl icallo—a large, circular lip plug of green stone in a gold setting.

643 301 [532] A lip pendant of gold, in the form of a broad-leafed water plant;
A crescent-shaped lip pendant of gold;
A green stone nose rod;
A fine turquoise nose rod;
A necklace of round, green stones, joined and strung together;
A necklace of radiating golden pendants with a thin, green stone [disc] set in their midst;[8]
A finely wrought feather arm band with various [other] costly feathers and with gold;
[237] A golden band for the calf of the leg;
A quetzal feather banner held in the hand;
A quetzal bird as headdress;
Quetzal feather horns;
A quetzal feather fan [set] with gold;
A turquoise [mosaic] wrist band with a conical extension;
A necklace of gold [beads] and small sea shells;
A necklace of gold [beads] and snail shells;
643 [276 416] Flowers and tobacco, [which were] exclusively the ruler's; a mirror in which the ruler looked at himself when he adorned himself. All these were the charge of the artisans[9] when the ruler danced.
[292 281] Sandals of ocelot skin; cured leather sandals with embroidery—embroidered sandals.
[534] [There were] two-toned drums and supports for two-toned drums, ground drums, golden turtle shells, and golden bells;
533 Singers, a dancer, a player of two-toned drums and one of ground drums, a drum beater, a singer who intoned the chant.
415 [There were] chests for the devices, in which were kept all which have been described: a large basket-case in which were kept the green stone lip plugs, the gold ear plugs, the golden necklaces, the wigs, the masks, the golden reed serpent.
351 There were flowering trees, which were to be seen in the palace courtyard; for it was the ruler who was to dance.
415 314 534 [There were] a basket for the mirror, a basket for the comb; and a rubber hammer with which the two-toned drum was sounded.

apatlactempilolli, coztic teucujtlatl,

metztempilolli coztic teucujtlatl,
chalchiuhiacamjtl,
teuxiuhiacamjtl,
chalchiuhcozcatl ololiuhquj, tlacenqujxtilli, tlacecotl,
coztic teucujtlachaiaoac cozcatl, chalchiuhtlacanaoalli iitic manj,
quetzalmachoncotl tlaçotlanquj nepapan tlaçoiujtica, ioan coztic teucujtlaio,
coztic teucujtlacotzcoatl,
quetzalmaxpanjtl,
quetzaltotoscpacxuchitl,
quetzalquaquaujtl,
quetzalecacoaxtli coztic teucujtlaio
xiuhmacopilli,

coztic teucujtlachipulcozcatl,
teucujtlacoztic acuechcozcatl,
xuchitl, ietl, ineixcaujl tlatoanj, teuatl injc motta tlatoanj, injc muchichioa amaxteca impial, in isquich imaçeoaia tlatoanj,

oçeloecoacxtli, cuetlaxcactli tlamachio, tlamachcactli,
teponaztli, teponaztzaztzaztli, veuetl xiacachtli coztic teucujtlatl, tetzilacatl coztic teucujtlatl,

cujcanjme, mjtotianj, teponaçoanj, ueuetzonanj, tlatzotzonqui, cujcaitoanj,

tlaujzpetlacalli, in vncan mopiaia, in izquich omito. Veuej topanatli, in vncan mopia, in chalchiuhtentetl, in teucujtlanacochtli, in teucujtlacozcatl, tzoncalli, xaiacatl, teucujtlaxcaçoatl coztic teucujtlatl,
xuchiquaujtl momanaia, in tecpan itoalco, inezca catca: ca maçeoaz in tlatoanj.

tenzatanatli, tziquaoztanatli, olmaitl injc motzotzona teponaztli.

8. Cf. Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, II, p. 943; also corresponding Spanish text.
9. Cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 1098f., on etymology of *amaxteca*.

643
714 **Twelfth Chapter**, in which it is told how the rulers were arrayed whom they sent to the wars.

Inic matlactlomome capitulo, vncan mjtoa: inic mochichioaia in tlatoque, in qujxtlauja iuapan.

The costly red spoonbill headdress set off with gold, having very many quetzal feathers flaring [from it], and with it, borne upon his back, the skin drum upon a carrying frame, and decorated with gold.

[237]

Tlauhquecholtzontli tlaçotlaquj cuxtic teucujtlaio: ceuca mjiec in quetzalli icuecuetlacacaio: injcal in tlamamalli, vejetl in colotli tlachiuhtli, cuxtic teucujtlaio:

And they dressed him in a red shirt, made of red spoonbill feathers [decorated with] flint knives[1] [fashioned of] gold; and his *xapote* leaf skirt was made all of quetzal feathers.

auh in ichoutl cuxmaxaqujo tlatlauhquj, tlauhquecholiujtl injc tlachiuhtli: cuxtic teucujtlatl in jetzcpaio, auh in jxxapocue mochiuhtoc çan moch quetzalli.

The shield was ringed with thin gold, and its pendants were made of precious feathers.[2]

Chimalli, cuxtic teucujtlatl, in tlatzontzontli inamaoaio, tlaçoiujtl in jtzcdlapilollo mochiuhtoc,

[He had] a green stone necklace of round, large, green stone and fine turquoise combined.

chalchiuhcoxcatl, tlacoxaqujxtilli in ololiuhquj, in veuej, chalchiujtl, iuan texiujtl

The ruler placed upon his head a blue cotinga feather headdress which was set off with gold, and had quetzal feathers flaring [from it]. Over the upper part of his body he put a shirt of blue cotinga feathers.

[237]

xiuhtotoztontli, cuxtic teucujtlaio, quetzalli in jcuecuetlacacaio, in jtzontecon conmaquja tlatzonj: auh in jtlac conaquja xiuhtotocuitl,

And as a burden for his back [he had] a blue skin drum fashioned on a frame, and [ornamented] with gold.[3]

auh in tlamamalli uexoxuhquj vejetl in colotli tlachiuhtli cuxtic teucujtlaio

All quetzal feathers was its *xapote* skirt; and its pendants were all costly feathers. And the [ornaments of] flint knives, for its covering of blue cotinga feathers, were of thin gold [plate].

çan muchi quetzalli in jxxapocue, mochi tlaçiujtl in jtlapilollo, cuxtic teucujtlatl in tlacuxoalli in jtetzcpaio, in xiuhuexoxtl,

The ocelot Xipe was made of ocelot skin; its flint knife [decoration] was made of gold.

ocelotzotzec, oçelocuitl injc tlachiuhtli, cuxtic teucujtlatl injc tlachiuhtli in jtetzcpaio,

*Its xapote* leaf skirt was all of quetzal feathers.

çe much quetzalli in jxxapocue,

The ocelot drum, the burden on his back, was of gold [decorated] with [wavy lines called] hawk scratches.

[231]

oçelocuitl in tlamamalli cuxtic teucujtlatl injc tlotloujtzcpaj.

The shield was covered with blue cotinga feathers and had a disc of gold in the center.

Chimalli xiuhtzonxica tzacpaj, cuxtic teucujtlatl ic itzapo,

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1. *Tzontecpin*: the corresponding Spanish text refers to *navajas de oro* whose *cuxtic* translation means "flint knives." The shape of the *tecpin* is similar to that of a knife. Cf. also Simeon, *op. cit.*, and Seler, *op. cit.*, II, p. 390, whose interpretation is used exclusively.
2. *The Real Academia de la Historia MS* follows *cuxtichichiuhtoc* with *ye cuecuetlatli ye tzontecpalli cuxtichichiuhtoc* [*ynic quetzal tlatlauhca, in which small grasshoppers* [*of gold*] *are added at the points.*
3. The corresponding Spanish text reads: "*Y colgauan desde alrededor, hasta los espaldas, un atambor proporcionado, pintado en sus cuadrados, como para llenar cuerpo.*" This passage Seler (*op. cit.*, II, p. 391) translates as "*Dann wird auf den Rücken eine Trommel gepackt, mit kleinen Gestalt bemalt, die mit Gold überzogen ist.*"

431 The second [gift] which they went offering him
776 was the array of Tezcatlipoca — the headpiece of
292 feathers, with stars of gold;[9] and his golden shell
301 earplugs;[10] and a necklace of sea shells; and the breast ornament decorated and fringed with small shells; and the sleeveless jacket painted with a design, with eyelets on its border, and fringed with feathers;[11] and a mantle with blue knots, which was called *tzitzilli*, grasped by the corners in order to tie it across the back;[12] also, over it, a [mosaic] [416] mirror[13] lying on the small of the back; and, [as] another thing, golden shells bound on the calves of the legs; and one [more] thing, white sandals.

Injc vntlamantli qujmacato, iehoatl in jtlatquj catca Tezcatlipuca: hivitzoncalli, coztic teucujtlatoca cicitlallo, yoan itecujtlacoiolnacoch: yoan chipolcozcatl; elpan coxcatl, cilin ic tlatlatlamachilli, ic tenchaiaoac; yoan xicolli, çan tlacujlolli, in jtenjxio, hivitica tenpoçonquj: yoan centetu tilmatli, xiuhtlalpilli, motocaiotiaia, tzitzilli, qujoalnacazvitzana injc mocujtlalpia; no ipan mantiuh tezcacujtlapilli: yoã oc no centlamãtli, tecujtlacoiolli, itlanjtzco molpiaia, yoã centlamantli, iztac cactli.

Third was the adornment of the lord of Tlalocan: [237] the headdress of quetzal and heron feathers, replete with quetzal feathers. It had quetzal feathers and was blue-green; blue-green was overspread. And over it gold interspersed with shells. And green stone [were] his serpent-shaped ear plugs.[14] [There were] his sleeveless jacket, with a design of green [416] stone; his neck ornament, his plaited, green stone neck band with also a golden disc. Also he had a mirror at the small of his back, as hath been told; and likewise he had rattles and a cape with red rings on the border,[15] which was tied on; and shells of gold for his ankles; and his serpent staff was made of turquoise.

Injc etlamantli, iehoatl in jnechichioal catca, Tlalocã tecutli: quetzalaxtatzontli, çã moca quetzalli, motqujtica quetzalli, iuhqujn xoxoqujvi, xoxoqujuhtimanj: auh in jpan teucujtlatica epnepanjuhquj: yoan ichalchiuhcoanacoch: ixicol, tlachalchiuhicujlolli: in jcoxquj chalchiuhcozcapetlatl no teucujtlaconallo, no tezcacujtlapile, in juhquj omito, no tiztzile; tenchilnacacaio in tilmatli injc molpia: yoan icxicoiolli teucujtlatl: yoan icoatopil, xiuhtica tlachiuhtli.

Fourth, likewise the array of this same Quetzal- [237] coatl was yet another thing: the pointed ocelot skin cap,[16] with pheasant[17] feathers; a very large green stone at the top, which was fixed at the tip; and round, turquoise [mosaic] ear plugs,[17] from which were hanging curved sea shells fashioned of gold; and a plaited green stone neck band in the midst of which there was likewise a golden disc; and a cape with red border which was tied on; likewise,

Injc nauhtlamantli çan ie no iehoatl in jtlatquj catca Quetzalcoatl, ie ne centlamantli: ocelocopilli, conoliio; veitepul in chalchivitl yicpac ca ic quatzacutica; yoan xiuhnacochtli, malacachtic, itech pilcatica teucujtlaepcolollí; yoan chalchiuhcozcapetlatl, çan no teucujtlaconalli in jnepantla mantia; yoan tilmatli tentlapallo injc molpia; çan no teucujtlacoiolli in jcxi itech monequja: yoan chimalli teucujtlatica itixapo, quetzalhençouhquj, no quetzalpanio:

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9. *Ibid.*: "una cabellera hecha de plumas ricas que colgaua por la parte detras hasta cerca de la cintura estaua cerbrada toda de estrellas de oro."

10. *Ibid.*: "unas orejeras de oro que llamaua colgadas unas caracolillas de oro y caracoles de caracolillas marinas blancas y hermosas dezian caracoles colgauan en cuero que era como pasa y llamauale cenxiio [sic] de manera que cubria todo el pecho hasta la cintura, llamaua este pecho nacochtli estaua arrebolado y colgadas por todo al."

11. *Ibid.*: "un cuero de tela blanca pintado la orilla de abaxo hasta encima con bordado unos plumas blancas tres hilos por todo al redodor."

12. *Ibid.*: "una manera ropa la tela dalla era en aquel cuero y tejia labrada cruzadas de muchas labores de en aquel muy fino llamauase esta manera tzitzilli esta manera se ponja por la cintura atada por las espaldas al derecho."

13. *Ibid.*: "una rodaxilla de caracoles, atada al cuerpo colgo [illegible]."

14. *Ibid.*: "unas orejeras de chalchihuitl, muchas que tenja [illegible] unas culebritas de chalchihuites."

15. Possibly meant to be the Aztec colonists.

16. Corresponding Spanish text: una mejora de cuero de tigre, y colorgauan [sic] de la mitra, sobre las espaldas, una capilla grande, hecha de plumas de cuervos, llamauase la mejora en chalchihuitl grãde: y redondo, en la punta."

17. *Ibid.*: "de cuerpos de cuerpuerno."

12

1/2 [There is no known genus of pheasant native to the New World. Perhaps the term is here used colloquially. — Anal'yst]

796 778 And when he had already taken shape, then they pasted his head with feather down and made his diagonally-striped face painting, and [gave him] his serpent ear plug of glued turquoise [mosaic]. And from the serpent ear plugs hung the circlet of thorns, [made of] gold, with toes — cut in the form of toes. And his nose rod [was] arrow[-shaped]; of beaten gold [was it] wrought and set with stones. It was shaped of metal plate painted as if with stones. Likewise from it hung what was called the thorn circlet, painted with diagonal stripes. Thus was it diagonally striped: on it were [alternating] blue and yellow [bands]. And upon his head stood his humming bird disguise. Then there was, besides, what was named *anecwyotl*, [his headdress] of featherwork, round, a little narrow and pointed at its base. After [237] that they placed upon the back of his head the ball of yellow parrot feathers, from which hung his child's lock of hair. And [he had] his cape of stinging nettles,[6] colored black, in five places ornamented with feathers — with eagle down. It was wrapped about him. And below, he was wrapped in his cape with severed heads and bones; and above, he was wrapped, also, in his jerkin painted with the limbs [532] and members [of men] — all painted there with severed heads, ears, hearts, entrails, livers, lungs, and prints of the hand and the foot. And [he was given] a breech clout. Only the breech clout was very finely wrought. And its design was also the limbs and [289] members [of men: it was] so woven. But his large [breech clout was][7] only of paper: it was of white paper,[8] one fathom wide and twenty long, with a design painted on it in blue. And as for the blood banner with the flint knife at the point: his blood banner was only of paper, painted red, as if [striped] with blood. And the flint knife at the point was likewise only of paperwork, and also similarly painted — colored as if with blood. And his shield, which he carried, was of reedwork; [it was] a shield of coarse reeds decorated in four places with feathers —

Auh in ie utlacat, njmā quiquapotonja, yoan quichioa, ixtlā tlatlaan, yoan icoanacochxivitl in tlaçalolli: auh in jcoanacoch itech pipilcac in vitznaoaiotl, teucujtlatl xonopiltic, tlaxonopiltectli, yoā yiacapilol, mjtl: Teucujtlatl in tlachiuhtli, tlatzotzontli, yoan tlateantli, tlacanaoalli, tlatzicujlolli: no itech pilcaia moteneoa vitznaoaiutl, ixtlan tlatlaan: injc ixtlan tlatlaan, vncan icac texutli, yoan tēcuxtli yoā icpac conquetza ivitzitzilnaoal: njmā contoqujlia, itoca anecuiutl, hivitl in tlachichioalli, mjmjltic, achitzin vitztic, achi tzimpitzaoac: njmā ie ic in toxpololli icuexcochtlan in contlalilia itech pilcac tziuhcuexpalli, yoā itzitzicaztilma, tlatlilpalli: macujlcan in tlapotonjlli, quauhtlachcaiotica, qujmololotica, yoan in jtilma in tlanj qujmoquentia, tzotzontecomaio, oomjcallo: auh in panj qujmolpilia, yoan ixicul: injc tlacujlolli tlaquaquallo, ca much vncā icujliuhtoc in tzontecomatl, nacaztli, iolloth, cujtlaxculli eltapachtli, tochichi, macpalli, xocpalli, yoan imaxtli: çan in maxtlatl, vellaçotlanquj: auh in jtlamachio injc no tlaquaquallo injc tlaquittli: auh in jvei[maxtli] çan amatl ichoatl in quaoamatl, injc patlaoac cemmatl: auh injc viac cempoalli, injc tlacujlolli tezoacaxilquj, auh injquezpan quimamanticatca iacatecpaio: in jezpan çan amatl catca, tlapalli injc tlacujlolli, injc tlaezicujlolli: iacatecpaio, çan no amatl in tlachioalli, çan no iuhquj injc tlacujlolli, tlaezicujlolli, yoan ichimal ictica otlatl in tlachioalli, otlachimalli, nauhcan tlapotonjlli, quauhtlachcaiotica, hivichachapanquj, motenoa: Tevevelli, auh chimalpaio, çan no iuhquj in ezpanjtl injc tlacujlolli: yoan navi imjuh ic quiçentzitzquja in jchimal yoan iopochmacuex imaçpilcac, coiotomjtl in tlavipantli, yoan itech pilcatica amatl tlaxoxotlalli.

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6. Hernández, *op. cit.*, pp. 390-391, translates as *ortiga* (*Urtica sp.*); on pp. 388-390 he mentions seven kinds: four are *Urtica sp.*; others are *Urtica dioica* var. *angustifolia*; *Boroginácea urticifolia* Kunth; *Cnidoscolus Chayamansa* McVaugh ("*quemadora*," "*ortiga*"); and *W. coriacea* - H. B. K. ("*ortiga de tierra caliente*"). Simmonds, *op. cit.*, I, p. 496, writes of *chichicaxtle*: "*La ortiga urticante. . . . La especie principal es la Jatropha urens L. . . . En Méjico, planta herbácea, urticante-quemante, común en las zonas cálidas y templadas*" (*Malpighia dumetosa*, *Tragoceras dumetosum*). Also, "*Planta urticácea, llamada también ortiga, cuyas hojas, tallos, etc., producen picazón, ardor, etc.*" See also Maximino Martínez: *Las plantas medicinales de México* (México: Ediciones Botas, 1933), pp. 414-415 — *chichicaxtli* (*Urera caracasana* [Jacq.] Griseb.).

7. In the MS, a blank follows *yoā*. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 500, has supplied *-xuxic*. Reference to the description of this ceremony in Book II, however, suggests that the ceremony is *-xuxuc*.

8. In Victor Wolfgang Von Hagen: *The Aztec and Maya Paper Makers* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1944), p. 60, *xuxuc-amatl* is given as "coarse, double-layered paper, more difficult to fashion than the fig tree variety"; from bast's bark uxuxo (*Acacia cortigera*). On the other hand, a note in Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), V, p. 231, reads: "*la materia conocimiento por la capa de libar de algunos arboles del genero ficus. Servia de papel para los pintores o los libros, y de tela para hacer las colaxas, camisas y otros objetos que el culto de los dioses requeria.*"

796 **Twenty-eighth Chapter.** Here is told how the the Mexicans celebrated the feast of Uei [tecu]ilhuitl when the Spaniards had left Mexico.

**Injc cempoalli on chicuei capitulo: vncan mjtoa in quenjn Mexica vei ilhujtl qujchiuhq̃ in jquac oquizque Españoles vncan mexico.**

796 778 And when [the month of] Uei tecuilhuitl had again arrived, once more the Mexicans celebrated the feast, here, after twenty days.[1] All the images and representations of the devils they once again adorned; each one they bedight with capes, ornamented with feathers, hung with necklaces, and fitted with turquoise mosaic masks. And they put on them godly capes — the quetzal feather cape, the yellow parrot feather cape, and the eagle feather cape. And this array, the necessary items, the great noblemen guarded.

Auh in oacic vei tecujlhujtl: oc ceppa, ie no ceppa ilhujquixtique in Mexica, vncã cempoaltica. Jn izqujch in jmjxiptlavan, in impatilloan in diablome, ie no ceppa qujncecencauhque, quintlaquentique, quinquequetzallotique, quincococatique, quimcnasqujque xiuhxaiacatl, yoan quinquequentia in tequemjtl, in quetzalquemjtl, in tozquemjtl, quauhquemjtl. Auh inin tlatquitl in monec, quipiaia in vevei pipiltin:

796 805 Then followed after it Tlaxochimaco, which they also celebrated for twenty days. Then came after it Xocotl uetzi, which they also observed for twenty days. And with Ochpaniztli they spent the fourth [period of] twenty [days]. With Teotl eco they spent the fifth [period of] twenty [days]; with Tepeilhuitl, the sixth score; with Quecholli, the seventh score. At this point would have been completed a year — if nothing had happened, and if [the Spaniards] had not gone.[2] With Panquetzaliztli they spent the eighth [period of] twenty [days]; with Atemoztli, the ninth score; with Tititl, the tenth score; with Izcalli tlami, the eleventh score; and here set in the Nemontemi, [lasting] five days. Atlcaualo was twelve — or Quauitl eua; Tlacaxipeualiztli, thirteen; Toçoztontli, fourteen;[3] Uei toçoztli was seventeenth; and Tecuilhuitontli, eighteenth. With this had passed one year since [the Spaniards] died at the Tolteca canal.

njman qujoaltoqujlia in Tlaxuchimaco, no cempoaltique: njmã qujvaltoqujlia in xocotl vetzi, no cempoaltique. Auh in Ochpanjztli ic nappoaltique. Teutl eco: ic macujlpoaltique. Tepeilhujtl chiquacempoaltique. Quechulli ic chicõpoaltique: vncan cexiuhtizquja y, intlacatle muchivanj, intlacamo ianj. Panquetzaliztli, chicuepoaltique. Atemuztli, chicunappoaltique. Tititl matlacpoaltique. Jzcalli tlamj, ic matlacpoalli oce: njcan in muchioa in Nemontemj, macujlilhujtl. Atl cavalo, matlacpoalli omume, anoço Quavitl eoa. Tlacaxipeoaliztli, matlacpoalli omei. Toçoztontli matlacpoalli onnavi. Vei toçoztli, ic caxtolpoalli omume. Tecujlhujtontli, ic caxtolpoalli omei: vncan cexiuhtico y, injc mjcque tulteca acaloco.

805 And when once more they came forth, when again we saw them, [this] one year was in its eleven[th] score [of days], in the month of] Izcalli. From [the direction of] Quauhtitlan they issued forth; they came to establish themselves at Tlacopan for a period of only seven days. Then they departed,

Auh in ie no ceppa quiçaco, in ie no ceppa tiquimjttaque ce xivitl, ipã matlacpoalli oce, ipan in Jzcalli: quauhtitlan in quiçaco, onmotlalico in Tlacuban çan onchicomjlhujtico: njman iaque vmpoaltito. Auh ie no ceppa quiçaco, çan quiztiquizque quauhtitlampa itztiaque: çan tequjtl ontemjctitiquizque in

1. So the Aztec reads (compatible: see Molina, *op. cit.*, *ecuiculiztli*, *cempohualli*). — Doubtless the twentieth day is meant, to conform with custom in observance of feast days (personal communication, Rafael Garcia Granados).

2. See various translations in Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

3. The fifteenth and nineteenth months are omitted in the Aztec text.

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tula ... Ansi mismo estavan sujetos al de mexico donde estava y rresidia montesuma q̄ en aquellos tiempos hera señor dellos, y la davan de tributo cada un yndio una gallina desta tierra cada veinte dias y unas mantas de nequen y todos en general chicos y grandes hazian lo mismo" (RHE, 1:253).

Tecpatepec paid henequen mantles and skirts, deer horns, and game, as well as making a special milpa.[80]

Tezcatepec paid tribute of game, bows and arrows, and deerskins.[81]

## 13. Hueypuchtla

### Sources of the Map

On page 7 of the *Matricula* and on folio 29' of the *Codex Mendocino* appears the province of Hueypuchtla, which included south-central Hidalgo and a tiny segment of north-central Mexico. The present map is based on the American Geographical Society's Millionth Map, "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." In the *Matricula*, only the cabecera is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. The following have been identified:

| Mendocino | Millionth Map |
|---|---|
| Acayocā, 7 | Acayoca |
| Atocpan, 10 | Actopan |
| Hueypuchtla, 3 | Hueypoxtla |
| Tequixquiac, 1 | [No change] |
| Tetlapanaloyā, 2 | Tlapanaloya |
| Tezcatepectonco, 6 | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Xicalhuacan (? 4) | [See Remarks on Towns] |
| Xomeyocan (? 5) | [See Remarks on Towns] |

One pueblo of the *Matricula* remains unidentified: Xalac.

On the other hand, we may add two more towns with certainty to this province: Itzcuincuitlapilco (8) and Tolnacuchtla (9).

### Remarks on Towns

*Atocpan* has become the Actopan of today. Although there still exists another town called Atocpan (southeast of Hueypuchtla), ours is the

[80] *PNE*, 6: 36: "dauan de tributo mantas de nequen y naguas, cueros de venado, venados, liebres, conejos y codornices, y le hazian vna sementera de mahiz."

[81] *PNE*, 6: 32: "rreconoçian a Moctezuma ... davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

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651

808 bundles[a] of large white mantles, 4 brazas long[aa] [291]
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses[aa] 714
2 warriors' costumes with shields[a]

FOOD

400 bundles of dried chili peppers[a] [262]

OTHER GOODS

800 bundles of cotton[a] [348]

Another version of this tribute specifies the following annual payments:

CLOTHING

1,800 bundles of mantles for use as carpets, with varicolored stripes [291]
..... plain mantles
..... women's skirts and blouses
100 bundles of "twisted" mantles, 8 brazas long and 3 *piernas* wide
100 bundles of thin mantles, 4 brazas long ("which altogether comes to forty thousand pieces")
200 bundles of loincloths

FOOD [262]

100 loads of chili peppers
100 loads of little peppers

OTHER GOODS

400 *petacas* [petates?] [285
400 deerskins 281
100 live deer 231
100 large (live) parrots 237]
40 bags of white feathers for weaving
40 bags of varicolored feathers

Besides this, servants were provided for the overlords.[a] [357]

[a] Corrected from 800.

[aa] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1891), II: 195. The province of "Tlaxcoacalco" paid "en cada un año de tributos mil y ochocientos fardos de mantas así de las ricas bordadas de todos colores, que servían para entapizar las salas y cuartos del rey, como de otras llanas, cenegues y bonpiles, sin más cien fardos de mantas de Tlacatzinhuque [Ilacatzinhuque, Medina: cosa torcida] de á tres piernas, que tenía de largo cada una de ellas ocho brazas, y otros cien fardos de las más delicadas y primas de á cuatro brazas, que las unas y las otras venían á ser cuarenta mil piezas, sin más cuatrocientas petacas y cuatrocientos pellejos de venado, cien venados vivos, cien cargas de chile y cien cargas de pepitas, cien papagayos grandes, cuarenta costales de pluma blanca con que hacían telas, y otros cuarenta costales de plumería de aves de diferentes colores, sin más doscientos fardos de pañetes, que venían á ser cuatro mil, con las armas y criadas necesarias para el servicio de palacio."

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816 bundles[a] of orange-striped mantles, 8 brazas long[b]
408 bundles[a] of large white mantles, 8 brazas long[b]
402 bundles[a] of mantles striped red and yellow[b]
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses[b]
240 bundles of rich mantles in three styles[b]
2 warriors' costumes with shields[b]

FOOD[b]

800 loads of dried chili peppers

OTHER GOODS[b]

20 bags of small white feathers for decorating mantles
2 strings of chalchiuites
1 string of turquoises
2 disks of turquoise mosaic

Another source, which magnifies the seven towns into seven provinces in the "gran provincia de Tochpan"[c] (seventy-eight pueblos in all), gives the following version:

CLOTHING

1,580 bundles of mantles
25 mantles and *huipiles*
400½ bundles of "twisted" mantles, 8 brazas long
400½ bundles of thin "twisted" mantles, 4 brazas long

This is summed up as 47,645 articles of clothing, a smaller figure than that given by the *Mendocino*.[d] Perhaps we have here the tribute of the cabecera alone. Servants were also supplied, we are told.[e]

Still other sources give more details concerning items included in the opulent tribute of Tuchpa Province, among them a kind of mantle called "Tuchpanecayotl."[f]

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[a] Corrected from 800.
[b] Corrected from 400.
[c] Corrected from 400.
[d] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197. It is interesting that the number seven is given, which corresponds to the number of towns known to us from the *Mendocino*.
[e] The total number of pieces of clothing from Tuchpa Province specified in the *Mendocino* is 85,480.
[f] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197: "En la gran provincia de Tochpan puso por su mayordomo á Huehuetli, que cobraba en cada un año de las mantas del género atrás referido, mil quinientos y ochenta fardos, y mas veinticinco mantas y huepiles, sin más cuatrocientos fardos, y más diez mantas de ilacatziuhqui [Molina: cosa torcida] de a ocho brazas, y otros tantos fardos de mantas de ilacatziuhqui delgado de a cuatro brazas, que por todo venían á ser cuarenta y siete mil seiscientos cuarenta y cinco mantas, enaguas y huepiles, piezas de ilacatziuhqui y paños sin más las amas de palacio y criadas que eran necesarias para el servicio. La gran provincia de Tochpan se dividía en siete provincias, que contenían todas ellas sesenta y ocho pueblos a ellas sujetos."
[g] Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (1878), p. 315. See also Krickeberg, *Las totonaca* (1933), pp. 110–111.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

*Inhabitants and languages.*—According to the Mendizabal-Jiménez Moreno linguistic map, Tlalcoçauhtitlan embraced a diversity of languages. Apart from the predominant Náhuatl, areas of Tlapanec, Matlame, and the unclassified Tuxteca are noted. The province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan was brought into the Empire by Nezahualcoyotl, who placed a governor over it.[a]

*Provincial borders in 1519.*—West of Tlalcoçauhtitlan lay the province of Tepequacuilco; east of it Quiauhteopan, and to the north Quauhnahuac and Huaxtepec. These were Empire provinces. On the south, however, it gave on obscure and bellicose Yopitzinco.

TRIBUTE

*Tribute of the whole province.*—The yellow earth which gave its name to the province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan naturally figured in its tribute, which was as follows:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

100 pots of bee honey**

OTHER GOODS

20 dishes of *tecoçahuitl*, "ques un barnyz amarillo con que se enbixavan"[b]

[a] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 198: Nezahualcoyotl "... fué sobre la [provincia] de Tlauhcocauhtitlan y la ganó, en donde puso por su mayordomo á Huitziltecuh, en donde se le daban de tributo y reconocimiento en cada un año diez y seis hateas de color y veinte cargas de copal, doscientas sesenta y ocho jícaras y tecomates finos, y veinte cargas de varas de tlacuilol quahuitle." The last item is clarified by Sahagún (*Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], III: 222): "Hay unos árboles silvestres que se llaman tacuiloquauitl, que quiere decir que tiene madera pintada, porque ellos son bermejos, y tienen las vetas negras que parecen pinturas sobre el bermejo; es árbol muy preciado, porque de él se hacen teponaztles, tamboriles y vihuelas, y suenan mucho estos instrumentos cuando son de esta madera; y por ser muy pintada y de buen parecer es muy preciada."

[b] Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 315) includes among the tribute from the Huaxteca "betun amarillo que llaman Tecuezalin y tecoxahuitl con que untan y tiñen jicaras, y ablandan manos y piés."

Editorial note (C. O. Sauer): This Náhua word may possibly also signify the yellowish lacquer base, prepared from Coccus insects. The intermediate slopes between the volcanic highlands and the Balsas lowland were and are the chief source of this substance, prized in the aboriginal crafts of central and southern Mexico.

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632 *Teoçiocan* is called "Teocinyocan" by another native source.[26] It is perhaps an estancia of Zongolica (a), "en tierra fria," called San Juan de Teoyxuacan, two leagues from the cabecera.[27]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

175 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Cuetlaxtlan, we are told by a Texcocan chronicler, was conquered by that power,[28] a statement confirmed by the "Relación de Cempoalla."[29] The pre-Hispanic language was Náhuatl.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Cuetlaxtlan lay between Quauhtochco and Tochtepec, which were on the northwest and on the southeast respectively. Northeastward was the sea, and to the southwest was a doubtful region embracing at least one free city-state of the Mazateca.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Cuetlaxtlan, in contrast with that of adjacent Quauhtochco, was variegated:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 women's blouses and skirts**
400 small mantles, borders black and white**
400 half-quilted mantles**
400 mantles of 4 brazas each**
400 large white mantles, 4 brazas each**
160 very rich mantles for lords and caciques**
1,200 black-and-white striped mantles**
[714] 2 warriors' costumes with shields*
[317] 1 string of chalchiuites*
400 bunches of quetzal feathers*
[237] 2 lip plugs of crystal, with blue and gold mountings*
[301] 20 lip plugs, light amber, mounted in gold*
1 hair adornment of quetzal feathers*

FOOD

[262] 200 loads of cacao*

Cuetlaxtlan paid cacao and cotton mantles, both white and decorated.[30]

[26] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), IV: 134.
[27] *PNE*, 5: 230.
[28] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.
[29] RHE, 1: 131.
[30] *PNE*, 5: 9: "tributavanle cacao y mantas de algodón blancas e pintadas."

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OTHER GOODS

16,000 rubber balls
100 pots of liquidambar
24,000 little bunches of blue, red, and green feathers
4 tufts of green feathers trimmed with yellow ones
80 handfuls of quetzal feathers

Ixtlilxochitl gives another list for the whole province: what it paid to Acolhuacan when it was first subjugated:[80]

CLOTHING

40 bundles of rich mantles
20 bundles of rich blouses
. . . shields, panaches, etc., of quetzal plumes

FOOD

33 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS

2,000 rubber balls
400 measures of cochineal

Personal services were also exacted, he relates.

The same chronicler says that twelve pueblos were subject in this province. In a little list inserted without explanation in the annals of Quauhtitlan, Tochtepec and eleven other towns of the province are named, along with these items:

20 + 10 + 1 (31) loads of cacao
400 [measures] of *achiote*
5 *centzontli* [2,000?] rubber balls[81]

The agreement between the Ixtlilxochitl and Quauhtitlan lists suggests that Ixtlilxochitl had the latter at his disposal.

*Tribute of the component towns.*—Even more detailed information may be secured on the tribute of Tochtepec Province.

Chinantlan and its subjects paid gold and cacao.[82]

Tlacotlalpan paid cotton mantles (some bearing painted pictures of

[80] Quoted in n. 36 above.

[81] Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), p. 311. The twelve towns are Quecholtan, Tlacoapan, Chiltepec, Poctlan, Oxitlan, Ichcatlan, Tlequauhtla, Coyatepec, Tzinacanoztoc, Xallapan, Otlztitlan, and Tuchtepec.

[82] *PNE*, 4: 60: "este señor ... rreconoçia a Moteçuma, y el y todos sus pueblos le tributaban oro e cacao."

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### REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 712 *Xoconochco* has now become Soconusco San Benito.[a] It appears as one of the garrison towns (*Mendocino*, fol. 18r) with two governors, named "2. Quauhtli Tezcacouacatl" and "Atzin Tlilancalqui," according to their glyphs (cf. chap. viii, no. 37).

### NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The Mayence language Mame and Náhuatl were the native languages of Xoconochco Province.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Xoconochco was one of the terminals of the Empire, and doubtless warred constantly on the east and west. The links which bound Xoconochco Province to the Empire and to remote Tochtepec are not clearly known, but it seems likely that they consisted in isolated fortresses.

### TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Xoconochco Province comprised the following:

CLOTHING[**]

[301] 2 lip plugs of light amber, gold setting
2 long strings of chalchiuites

FOOD[**]

[263] 200 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS[**]

● [237] 1,400 bunches of feathers, blue, red, and green
160 whole skins of birds[a]
800 handfuls of yellow parrot feathers
800 handfuls of quetzal feathers
[415] 40 ocelot skins
800 rich tecomates for drinking cacao
[317] 2 brick-sized chunks of clear amber

632 651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Xoconochco gave, in the early colonial period, three annual tributes of goldpieces, each tribute being comprised of eight gold disks worth twenty-five pesos apiece.[a]

[a] Nuttall, "Chalchihuitl in Ancient Mexico," *American Anthropologist* (1901), 3: 232.
[a] Cooper Clark, ed., *Códice Mendocino* (1938), 1: 81. Identified as *Catinga amabilis* Gould.
[a] *PNE*, 1: No. 501: "Dan tres tributos cada ano y en cada uno ocho tejuelos de oro de a veynte e çinco pesos cada uno, de nueue quilates: pagando en tostones al Respeto."

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Piaztla gave salt and wax annually, and aided the Imperial troops passing through the town by supplying them with war clubs, shields, arrows, and food.[a]

Tecomaixtlahuacan was under the rein lightly. It had its own lord and none other, we are told in the sixteenth-century relación, but it chose none the less to send Moctezuma gifts now and again, and tribute is the criterion of the present map.[b]

Ycpatepec acquired certain articles by trade with peoples thirty leagues away and then delivered them to the Mexican tax collectors in Teutla (or Tentla). These articles were green feathers, gold, and chalchiuites.[c]

Yxicayan gave a combination of dwarf peppers and mantles "and nothing else."[d]

## 33. Tlapan

### Sources of the Map

The province of Tlapan contained fourteen towns, according to the glyphs of the *Matricula* (p. 17) and the *Mendocino* (fol. 39'). In the *Matricula* only "Tlauhpā" is identified in a later hand; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. Tlapan Province lay in the eastern extreme of modern Guerrero. Of its fourteen towns, seven have been located on the modern map. The following correspondence between ancient and modern place names has been established, the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having served as base.

[a] *PNE*, 5: 78: Piaztla was " ... sujeto al Real Imperio de Mexico y ... en su sujecion llebauan cada año cantidad de sal y sera, de que daban a los Exercitos de Mexico espadas de pedernal, rodelas y flechas y comida quando pasaban por su pueblo a la conquista de lexos [*sic*] provincias, y no le davan en señal de sujecion otro tributo alguno."

[b] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 137: "algunas vezes contribuyan con algunos presentes de piedras etc. desque llaman chalchihuites á montecuma." The codex of this town (published by Schmieder) claims that the people of the town "nunca ... tributaron ni contribuyeron en cosa alguna para los dichos tributos de Mexico, y de todos eran libres y exentos" (Schmieder, *The Settlements of the Tzapotec and Mije Indians* [1930], p. 79).

[c] *PNE*, 4: 161: "solian ser en tiempo de su xentilidad suxetos a Munteçuma ... le davan de tributo cada tantos meses plumas verdes y oro en polvo y algunas piedras verdes de poco momento: estas cosas iban a rrescatar a otras partes fuera deste dicho pueblo, mas de treynta leguas, lo qual entregaban a los capitanes de Munteçuma que tenia puestos para el dicho efeto en Tentla" (or Teutla).

[d] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 152: "acudian con el tributo á monteçuma al cual acudian cón mantas y agi y no con otra cosa."

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Tlapan in the mid-sixteenth century gave 62 pesos, 3 tomines of gold quarterly, 3 loads of honey, 5 pots, and 3 loads of wax in pellets.[71] Tototepec, likewise about a generation after the Conquest, gave 50 measures of gold dust and certain articles of clothing quarterly, and daily gave the services of seven Indians, and a chicken to the Calpixque.[72]

## 34. Tlachquiauco

### Sources of the Map

The province of Tlachquiauco was not large. It contained three principal towns, according to folio 45' of the *Mendocino Codex*, the folio copied from the recto side of a lost leaf (page "22A") which followed Coyolapan and preceded Xoconochco in the original manuscript. Of the three towns of Tlachquiauco Province, one has not been located, but the other two (lying in northwestern Oaxaca) have been identified as follows on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México":

| Mendocino | Millionth Map |
|---|---|
| Achiotlan, 4 | S. Miguel Achiutla |
| Tlachquiauco, 3 | Tlaxiaco |

The town which has eluded identification is Çapotlan.

Mixtepec (2) and Tlacotepec (1) are added from other sources.

### Remarks on Towns

*Mixtepec* was subject to Tlachquiauco in the days when the latter still held out against the Mexica, and presumably fell with it.[73]

*Tlacotepec* appears in some of the younger Moctezuma's conquests jointly with Ycpatepec (in the province of Yoaltepec).

*Tlachquiauco* is a name which has suffered considerable corruption, but there is no novelty in the identification of the town.

*Çapotlan* appears vaguely linked with Etla and Macuilxochic in one source.[74]

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[71] *PNE*, 1: No. 723: "dan cada ochenta dias sesenta y dos pesos y tres tomines de oro en poluo y tres cargas de miel y çinco xarros y tres cargas de çera en pellas." The statement also includes similar data from near-by towns.

[72] *PNE*, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias çinquenta pesos de oro en poluo y çinco naguas y ocho mantillas, y cinco mantas grandes; mas dan siete yndias de seruicio cada dia y una gallina al Calpixque."

[73] *PNE*, 4: 142: "el caçique de tlaxiaco que era a quien estos de mistepeque reconocian por señor tenia guerra con montecuma."

[74] *ENE*, 16: 68.

1 A [i.e. A civil functionary in whose care the public stores were entrusted = Analyst]

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

*Inhabitants and languages.*—This province seems to have been formed out of a vanquished Mixtec city-state, at a very late period indeed in the Empire's history. It is listed as one of three principal pre-Hispanic powers of the region in the "Relación de Teoçapotlan,"[73] though we know that it lost its independence in 1511 or 1512.[74]

*Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the south lay sister Mixtec states such as Puctla and Zacatepec, which defied the Mexicans successfully, to the east and north the Empire province of Coayxtlahuacan, and to the west that of Yoaltepec.

*Regional names.*—Tlachquiauco lay in what is commonly called the Mistecapan.

TRIBUTE

The only data available on the tribute of Tlachquiauco Province comes from the *Codex Mendocino:*

CLOTHING

400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume and shield*

OTHER GOODS*

20 vessels of gold dust
5 sacks of cochineal
400 bunches of quetzal feathers

## 35. Coayxtlahuacan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Coayxtlahuacan appears on page 21 of the *Matricula* and is copied on folio 43' of the *Codex Mendocino*. It contained eleven principal towns,[75] all of which have been found. They lay in northern Oaxáca. In the *Matricula* the towns of "Cohuaxtlauacã," "Tamaçolapan," and "Tepozcololan" are identified in the roman alphabet; and

[73] *PNE*, 4: 193: "dizen los yndios que poco antes que los españoles viniesen solos auian los de Tututepec que estos eran guerreros por si, y los de Tlachiaco que tambien eran guerreros por si, y Montecçuma que era el Señor de México."

[74] Anderson and Barlow, "The Maize Tribute of Moctezuma's Empire," *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden* (1943), 30: 414–415.

[75] Cortés (*Cartas y relaciones* [1866], pp. 152–153) speaks of twelve towns in the province of "Coastoca."

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

*Inhabitants and languages.*—At the time of the Spanish Conquest the predominant language of the province of Coyolapan was Zapotec, though the Zapoteca had lost their political power. Two other groups also inhabited the province.[128] If we draw a line from north to south through Malinaltepec, Etla, Huaxolotitlan, Oaxaca, and Teozapotlan, then west to Totomachapa and Xilotepec, we delineate the western limits of Zapotec. The region beyond this line is Mixtec. In the northern panhandle, the fringe of the area in which Chinantec was spoken was a little south of Coaxomulco (1).[129]

The advanced and dissimilar cultures of the Zapotec and Mixtec, especially in the frontier zone of Oaxaca City, have become known in recent years through the investigations of Dr. Alfonso Caso.[130]

*Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Coyolapan was one of the far corners of the Empire. To the west and south it faced unfriendly Mixtec city-states, chiefly the huge realm dominated by Tototepec de Oaxaca. Eastward lay the Mixe and the "unprotected" Zapoteca. Both of these were uneasy frontiers. In the west and north, however, lay the strong Empire garrison of Coayxtlahuacan, in the province of the same name.

TRIBUTE

*Tribute of the whole province.*—Coyolapan and its subject towns paid the following tribute to the Triple Alliance:

CLOTHING**

400 bundles of richly worked mantles
800 bundles of large mantles

FOOD*

4 wooden cribs (2 of maize, 1 of beans, and 1 of chian)

OTHER GOODS*

20 gold disks, the size of an average plate and as thick as one's forefinger
20 bags of cochineal

[128] Chatino, the tongue of the Zenzontepec region, may be classified with Zapotec.

[129] García Granados, "Contribución para la geografía etnográfica y lingüística de Oaxaca," *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística* (1934).

[130] In addition to various monographs, Dr. Caso has also written a good summary in his *Las culturas mixteca y zapoteca* (1939).

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411 Bows and arrows were used, probably, by every warrior, but they were a less *convenient* weapon than the simple dart.[38] The bow ("*tlauitolli*")[39] was made of the same wood as the stem of the javelins ("otlatl"), its length varied according to the tribes, but those of the Mexicans were short.[40] The chord was made
● [237] out of the hair or sinews of deer. The arrow ("*mitl*") needs no description. Sometimes it was with several branches or heads. They carried the arrows in quivers suspended from the shoulder. Poisoned arrows were not in use among the Mexicans.[41]

Last among the missiles, though not least in importance, were pebbles and stones, thrown by slings or by hand.[42] The store-

we shall not deny it, appears to us not yet established as a fact. They may have had something similar to it, however, but it was no commonly used weapon, and we would beg to suggest that the "invention" of the "atlatl" at Tacubaya relates, not to the cross-bow, as Sr. Ramirez indicates, but simply to the "harpoon" (fisga) or javelin fastened to its carrier by a long cord. The Mexicans, besides, had a very characteristic name for cross-bow (Molina, I, p. 116). It is "tepuztlauitolli," composed of "tepuztli," iron or copper, and "tlauitolli," bow,—*a bow of* IRON,—plainly indicating that the weapon became known to them only after or during the conquest. Gonzala Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés "Historia general y natural de Indias," written towards the middle of the 16th century, but published in full only 1853, by the Academy of Madrid, gives (Vol. III, plate I, figs. 2 and 3) a drawing of an instrument used by the Indians of Cueva (Coyba), on the Isthmus of Darien, for throwing their darts. He says (Lib. XXIX, cap. XXVI, p. 127): "In some sections of the country the Indians are warlike, in other "sections not. They hardly ever use the bow, but fight with macanas, long lances, "and with darts which they throw by means of *estóricas* (a kind of *aventos*), a well-"made wooden contrivance. With this they hurl the javelin, always keeping the 'es-"tórica' in hand." The drawing referred to represents a wooden slide, shorter than the dart itself. The latter was laid on it. On each side of the slide there was a ring through which they passed the first and second fingers, holding it between and resting it on the palm of the hand. This gave them considerable accuracy and power in throwing the dart. An uncouth but very plain representation of a similar contrivance is found on plate V to the fifth chapter of the 2d Treatise of Durán, thus showing that the "atlatl" was nothing else but Oviedo's "estórica." Furthermore, Mr. F. W. Putnam, Curator of the Peabody Museum, identifies the "atlatl" in all probability with the "throwing stick" of the Aleutians of the Northwest, and still in use among them.

[38] Although the bow and arrow are a very deadly weapon, the *dart* was most convenient, and therefore most popular among the Mexicans; at least to open the combat (Mendieta, lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130).

[39] Molina (Vocabulario I, p. 13).

[40] Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII). Some tribes are mentioned as using bows 5½ feet long. The natives of Tehuacan are stated to have been extraordinarily good archers (Mendieta, lib. II, pp. 130 and 131).

[41] There is no trace of poisoned arrows north of the Isthmus of Darien. (See "Re-"lacion de los Sucesos de Pedrarias Dávila en las provincias de Tierra firme ó Castilla "del oro," etc., etc., "escrita por el Adelantado Pascual de Andagoya," in vol. III of "Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos," by Don Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, Madrid, 1829.) Also, Pedro de Cieza, of Leon ("Crónica del Peru," in Vedia, vol. II, cap. VII, p. 361).

[42] Mendieta (Lib. II, cap. XXVI, p. 130). Stones were picked up while fighting and thrown at each other in the field. Tezozomoc mentions "stones sent off with cords" ("con cordeles"), otherwise we have no description of the sling.

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714 While we shall, further on, have occasion to recur again to the
287 question of military costume and ornaments; when we treat of
237 the different grades of warriors and captains, it remains to be said here that *featherwork*, worn as a *layer* over the "escaupil," played a prominent part in the Mexican armour.[65] It formed an elastic layer on the outside of the quilted jacket, and besides it furnished, through an assemblage of colors peculiar to each subdivision of the force, the "uniform," or, as the Spanish authors call it, the "livery," of that particular sub-division. The Anonymous Conqueror says: "They cover their jackets and breeches "with feathers of various hues, presenting a very good appear-"ance; one company of soldiers has them white and red, others "blue and yellow, and others wear them still different."[66] Bernal-Diez mentions that while fighting on the causeways during the siege of Mexico: "in the morning many captaincies (detach-"ments) would attack us, relieving each other from time to time;
[302] "some had one livery and ensign, others had other ones."[67] Such of the warriors as were but scantily clothed painted their naked bodies.[68]

[293] "of gold." Tezozomoc (Cap. LIV, p. 88) gives the following description of the figure of Axayaca, carved out of the rock of Chapultepec, "with hair of precious feathers, "painted of the colors of the bird tlauhquechol . . . ." The bird whose plumage furnished the material was called "quetzal-tototl." It is "*Trogon resplendens*." (See "San Salvador and Honduras im Jahre 1571," a German translation of the report of Diego García de Palacio, by Dr. A. von Frantzius, of Freiburg, ib.—p. 30, No. 61 note. The notes by the learned translator, as also those of Dr. Berendt, are highly valuable.) The "tlauhquecho!" was also used.

[65] Prescott (History of the Conquest of Mexico, 1869, Book I, chap. II, pp. 45, 46, and 47, of Vol. I).

[66] (El Conquistador anónymo) Col. de Doc., Vol. I, p. 372.

[67] "Historia verdadera de la Conquista de Nueva-España" (Cap. CLIII, p. 189, in vol. II, of Vedia).

[68] It is presumable that the colors were those of the detachments to which the warriors belonged. At any rate, it shows that the Mexicans, like the northern Indians, had a special "war-paint." Those of Tepeaca, their allies or subjects, used black and red (Herrera, Dec. II, cap. XXI, p. 287, of Lib. X). Clavigero says (Lib. VII, cap. XXIII): "The common soldiers were naked with the exception of the girdle (maxtlatl), but they "sought to *imitate* the dress which they lacked, by painting their bodies with various "colors." Further on he adds (Cap. XXIV): "Besides the common flag of the army "each company of two or three hundred men had its own banner, and was, besides, "distinguished by the color of the plumage, which the officers and nobles wore over "their armour." Although this is no direct evidence of the fact, still it tends to intimate that the paint used by the common warriors was in *imitation of the featherwork* peculiar to their corps. They also painted their faces previous to an engagement: sometimes black. Tezozomoc relates that, on one occasion, Ahuitzotl painted his face *yellow* ("con un betun amarillo"). His armour was *blue* (Durán, Cap. XLVI, pp. 371 and 372, "tiznándose las caras con la tizne divina, quelloe así llamanan, y el rey Anit-"zotl vestido de ricas mantas, y debaxo muy bien armado con sus armas aqules . . ."

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Mother: "nantli" — "tenantzin" — "teciztli."[18]

Aunt: "auitl" — "teaui."[19]

Grandmother as well as grand-aunt: "citli."[20]

Great-grandmother "piptontli."[21]

*Descending* from the "Ego."

Son: "tepiltzin," "tetelpuch." But the women (mother, sisters, etc.), call him "noconeuh."[22]

[18] *Molina* (I, p. 80; II, pp. 68, 92, 96). "Ciatli" is probably the same as "Citli,"—hare, or grandaunt. The fact that the same name should be given to a near female relative or even to the mother, and to a fleet, timid, quadruped, is very singular. It may be that the timidity of the animal has given occasion to bestow the name, or, since hare's hair was frequently woven into fine mantles, together with feathers, that this also may have given rise to it. The latter is first mentioned by *Peter Martyr, of Anghiera*, "*De nouo Orbe*," or the "*Historie of the West Indies, etc., etc.*" London, 1612. An English translation by Michael Lok and Richard Eden, of the famous "Decades," also entitled "*De Rebus Oceanicis*," (Dec. V, cap. X, p. 229), he mentions having seen among the objects brought to the court of Spain by Juan de Ribera, garments; "they compact of Conies haire, and they set these feathers in such order between the Cony haire, and intermingle them between the thriddes of the cotton, and weave them in such difficulty, that we do not well understande how they might do it." *Sahagun* (Lib. XI, Cap. 3, p. 157) mentions another animal to which the name "cioatlamacaiqui" is given, which he translated "little old woman," basing upon its other designation of "tlamaton." [237 284]

The reverend father is, however, in error. The first name signifies literally, "woman medicine-man," or "female doctor" (Indian notion of course), and the second "little medicine-man," from "ciuatl" woman, Molina, II, p. 23, "tlama"—medicine-man, (II, 125). This animal seems to be the Raccoon, as the following quotations prove: *Joannis Eusebius Nierembery*, ("*Historia naturæ maxime peregrinæ*," Antwerp, 1635 Lib. IX, Cap. XLII, p. 175). "Antra canitates montium atque collium Taozococlei hospitatur animal peregrinum, quod cuncta manibus prætentat. Mapach ab Indis dicitur, sed non firmo nomine; alij illamaton seu vetulam appellant, alij maxtle seu gossypinum cingulum, alij cioatlamacasque seu sacerdotissam." *Oviedo y Valdés* (Lib. XII, Cap. XXXIX, p. 423), he calls "Coqumatle," an animal which is probably the Coati, makes no mention of the "mapach," but *Clavigero* (Lib. I, Cap. X, p. 76) treats of this animal fully.

The naming of a female relationship, "Citli" appears the more strange, as this name is given, in the Mexican mythological tales, to a *god* who tried to compel the sun to move, and lost his life in the attempt. This story is due to *Andrés de Olmos*, neither Sahagun nor Motolinia mention the occurrence in this manner. Compare *Sahagun* (Lib. VII, Cap. II, p. 243, etc., etc.); *Mendieta* (Lib. II, Cap. I, pp. 77, 78) and *Torquemada* (Lib. VI, Cap. XLI, p. 76). Both refer it to his authority. We shall refer to it in our essay on "Creed and Belief." [173]

[19] *Molina* (I, 113; II, 8, 91).

[20] *Molina* (I, 113; II, 23). See note 18.

[21] *Molina* (I, p. 117; II, 68). There is also, "nipipinia"—"parare faco de vejes," and "Pipinqui yuacayo"—"viejo flaco y arrugado." The affix "tontli" is a diminutive.

[22] *Molina* (I, p. 71). A singular etymology is shown here: The man says, {"Thy / Their} boy" or {"Thy / Their} youth." ("Te-piltzin"—"Te-telpuch" {from "Tehuatl" / or "Te"} "thou" / "their" } and "Piltzintli," child, male or female, (II, p. 23,) and "Telpochtli," youth, (p. 96.) The woman, however, calls: "my child" (or boy, since the same name is for both